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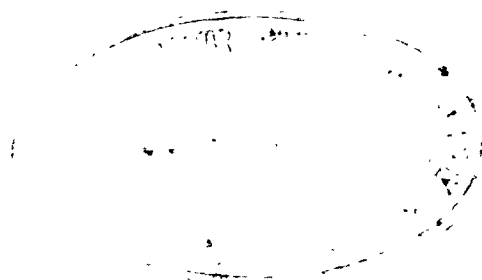
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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

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VOL. XI

GIPSY LANGUAGES





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# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

VOL. XI

## GIPSY LANGUAGES

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- Vol. I. Introductory.
- „ II. Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families.
- „ III. Part I. Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
- „ „ II. Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- „ „ III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- „ IV. Muṇḍā and Dravidian languages.
- „ V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern group.
- „ Part I. Bengali and Assamese.
- „ „ II. Bihārī and Oṛiyā.
- „ VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate group (Eastern Hindi).
- „ VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group (Marāṭhī).
- „ VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.
- „ Part I. Sindhī and Lahndā.
- „ „ II. Dardic, or Piśācha, languages (including Kāshmīrī).
- „ IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group.
- „ Part I. Western Hindi and Pañjābī.
- „ „ II. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī.
- „ „ III. Bhil languages, Khāndēśī, etc.
- „ „ IV. Pahārī languages.
- „ X. Eranian family.
- „ XI. "Gipsy" languages.



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# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

## SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

A.—For the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet, and others related to it—

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ī,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ऋ ṛi,	ॠ ṛe,	ए ē,	ऐ ai,	ओ o,	औ ō,	औ au.
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa	च cha	छ chha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña			
ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa	त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na			
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma	य ya	र ra	ल la	व va or wa				
श śa	ष sha	स sa	ह ha	ड ṛa	ढ ṛha	ळ ḷa	ल् ḷha					

Visarga (:) is represented by *h*, thus क्रमशः *kramaśaḥ*. Anuswāra (◌̣) is represented by *m*, thus सिंह *siṃh*, वंश *vaṃś*. In Bengali and some other languages it is pronounced *ng*, and is then written *ng*; thus बंग *baṅga*. Anunāsika or Chandra-bindu is represented by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus में *mē̃*.

B.—For the Arabic alphabet, as adapted to Hindōstānī—

ا a, etc.	ج j	د d	ر r	س s	ع 'e
ب b	چ ch	ڌ ḍ	ڑ r̥	ش sh	غ gh
پ p	ح h	ز z	ز z	ص s	ف f
ت t	خ kh	ژ zh	ض z	ط t	ق q
ث ṭ			ظ ẓ	ك k	ک k
س s				گ g	گ g
				ل l	ل l
				م m	م m
				ن n	ن n
				و when representing <i>anunāsika</i>	
				in Dēva-nāgarī, by ~ over	
				nasalized vowel.	
				و w or v	
				ه h	
				ی y, etc.	

Tanwīn is represented by *n*, thus فَاوْرَان *fauran*. Alif-e maqṣūra is represented by *ā*;—thus دَاوَا *da'wā*.

In the Arabic character, a final silent *h* is not transliterated,—thus بَنْدَا *banda*. When pronounced, it is written,—thus گُنَا *gunāh*.

Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus बन *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle of a word or only slightly pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindī) देखता *dēkh'tā*, pronounced *dēkhtā*; (Kāsh-mīrī) देख *tēh*; कर् *kar*, pronounced *kor*; (Bihārī) देखथि *dēkhat'h*.



C.—Special letters peculiar to special languages will be dealt with under the head of the languages concerned. In the meantime the following more important instances may be noted :—

- (a) The *ts* sound found in Marāṭhī (च), Paṣṭō (چ), Kāshmīrī (च्, च), Tibetan (ཚ), and elsewhere, is represented by *ts*. So, the aspirate of that sound is represented by *tsh*.
- (b) The *dz* sound found in Marāṭhī (ज), Paṣṭō (ج), and Tibetan (ཇ) is represented by *dz*, and its aspirate by *dzh*.
- (c) Kāshmīrī (ञ) is represented by *ñ*.
- (d) Sindhī (ڄ), Western Pañjābī (and elsewhere on the N.-W. Frontier) (ڄ), and Paṣṭō (چ) or (ج) are represented by *n*.
- (e) The following are letters peculiar to Paṣṭō :—  
 ټ *t*; ځ *ts* or *dz*, according to pronunciation; ډ *d*; ږ *r*; ښ *zh* or *g*, according to pronunciation; ښ *sh* or *kh*, according to pronunciation; ښ or ښ *n*.
- (f) The following are letters peculiar to Sindhī :—  
 ٻ *bb*; ٺ *bh*; ٺ *th*; ٺ *t*; ٺ *th*; ڀ *ph*; ڄ *jj*; ڄ *jh*; ڄ *chh*;  
 ڄ *ñ*; ڄ *dh*; ڄ *d*; ڄ *dd*; ڄ *dh*; ڪ *k*; ڪ *kh*; ڳ *gg*; ڳ *gh*;  
 ڳ *n*; ڳ *n*.

D.—Certain sounds, which are not provided for above, occur in transcribing languages which have no alphabet, or in writing phonetically (as distinct from transliterating) languages (such as Bengali) whose spelling does not represent the spoken sounds. The principal of these are the following :—

<i>á</i> ,	represents the sound of the <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> .
<i>ā</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>a</i> in <i>hat</i> .
<i>ē</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>o</i> in <i>hot</i> .
<i>e</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>é</i> in the French <i>était</i> .
<i>o</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>o</i> in the first <i>o</i> in <i>promote</i> .
<i>ō</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>ō</i> in the German <i>schön</i> .
<i>ü</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>ü</i> in the „ <i>müke</i> .
<i>th</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>think</i> .
<i>dh</i> ,	„ „ „ <i>th</i> in <i>this</i> .

The semi-consonants peculiar to the Muṇḍā languages are indicated by an apostrophe. Thus *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and so on.

E.—When it is necessary to mark an accented syllable, the acute accent is used. Thus in (Khōwār) *ássistai*, he was, the acute accent shows that the accent falls on the first, and not, as might be expected, on the second syllable.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

---

The present Volume of the Linguistic Survey contains an account of the so-called "Gipsy<sup>2</sup> Languages" of India, so far as information concerning them has become available.

It has been prepared by Professor Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway, who was for several years my Assistant, and to whose learning and unsparing collaboration I am heavily indebted. I have myself carefully gone through his manuscript, and have here and there added a few remarks over my signature. As General Editor of this series of volumes, I am therefore responsible for all statements contained in it.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.



# GIPSY LANGUAGES.

## INTRODUCTION.

Migratory tribes are found all over India, and are of different kinds. Some of them, like the Penḍhārīs, are descended from adventurers and individuals belonging to various castes and trades; others, like the Banjārās, Ōḍs, and so on, are occupational units, who wander all over the country in pursuance of their trade; others again are much of the same kind as the Gipsies of Europe, tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, or thieves and robbers, who have come under the Criminal Tribes Act.

It has become customary to call these tribes Gipsies, but this designation does not imply any connexion between them and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian, was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe from the beginning of the 15th century, because they described themselves as coming from Egypt. The word has then also come to be used to denote other peoples of similar, migratory, habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in this Survey. The Gipsy Languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.

Our information about these forms of speech is necessarily limited. Many of these vagrants simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian,' and they are naturally shy of initiating others into it. These argots will be dealt with below. They have not anything to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. Such forms of speech cannot, of course, be expected to present the same consistency as ordinary vernaculars. It is a consequence of the migratory habits of the tribes, that their languages are to some extent mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have, in this Survey, been dealt with in connexion with that form of speech. Thus the dialects of the following vagrant tribes have been described in connexion with Dravidian languages in Vol. IV of this Survey.

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Korava and Yerukala . . . . .	55,116
Kaikāḍi . . . . .	8,289
Burganḍi . . . . .	265
Gōlari . . . . .	3,614
Kurumba . . . . .	10,399
Vaḍari . . . . .	27,099
TOTAL . . . . .	104,782

Others have been dealt with in connexion with the Bhil languages in Vol. IX, Part iii, of this Survey, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bāori . . . . .	43,000
Banjāri . . . . .	158,500
Chāraṇi . . . . .	1,200
Habūṛā . . . . .	950
Pārādhī or Ṭākaṇkāri . . . . .	8,648
Siyalgiri . . . . .	120
Tarimūki or Ghisāḍi (Vol. IX, Part ii) . . . . .	1,669
TOTAL . . . . .	214,087

There remain some vagrant tribes, who have, during the operations of this Survey, been reported to possess languages of their own, *viz.* :—

Name of dialect.	Estimated number of speakers.
Bēldāri . . . . .	5,140
Bhamṭi . . . . .	14
Ḍom . . . . .	13,500
Gārōḍi . . . . .	?
Gulguliā . . . . .	853
Kanjari (including Kuchbandhi) . . . . .	7,085
Kōlhāṭi . . . . .	2,367
Lāḍi . . . . .	500
Machariā . . . . .	30
Malār . . . . .	2,309
Myānwālē or Lhāri . . . . .	?
Naṭi . . . . .	11,534
Ōḍki . . . . .	2,814
Peṇḍhāri . . . . .	1,250
Qaṣāi . . . . .	2,700
Sāsi . . . . .	51,550
Sikalgāri . . . . .	25
TOTAL . . . . .	101,671

Of these, Machariā was returned from the Kapurthala State as spoken by a tribe of fowlers who had come from Sind. It has turned out to be ordinary Sindhi with a slight admixture of Pañjābī and need not occupy us any more in this place. The remaining Gipsy dialects named above will be described in the ensuing pages. This list is unfortunately far from exhausting the number of such languages. We know that the Chūhrās, the Dalāls, the Naqqāsh, and several other tribes and castes possess secret trade jargons of their own, and many criminal tribes have been described who freely mix their speech with slang words and phrases in order to prevent outsiders from understanding them. No new materials about them have, however, been forwarded for the purposes of this Survey, and I can therefore only refer to such authorities dealing with them as I have come across.

---

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- BAILEY, RIV., F. GRAHAME, D.D.—*Notes on Punjabi Dialects.* Contains I. Notes on the Sāsi Dialect, pp. 3 and ff.; II. The Secret Words of the Qasāis, pp. 9 and f.; III. The Argot of Pañjābī Gamblers, pp. 11 and f.; IV. The Dialect of the Cūhrās, pp. 13 and ff. Privately printed. No date or place of publication.
- (KENNEDY, M.)—*Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency with Appendices regarding some Foreign Criminals who occasionally visit the Presidency including Hints on the Detection of Counterfeit Coin.* Bombay, 1908.

The various Gipsy tribes have not been distinguished in the language returns of the published Reports of the last Census of 1911. It is therefore difficult to compare the figures with the estimates made for the purposes of this Survey. The total returned under the head of Gipsy languages in 1911 was 28,294 distributed as follows:—

Ajmer-Merwara	209
Bombay	8,362
Central Provinces and Berar	2,274
Panjab	5,640
United Provinces	1,673
Baroda State	536
Bombay States	2,326
Central India Agency	1,097
Hyderabad State	4,566
Panjab States	474
Rajputana Agency	456
Other Provinces	681
TOTAL	<u>28,294</u>

The Gipsy dialects considered in the ensuing pages can be divided into two groups, ordinary dialects and argots. The former group comprises  
 Classification. Bēldārī, Bhamṭī, Lādī, Ōdkī and Peṇḍhārī, the latter Dōm, Gārōḍī, Gulguliā, Kanjarī, Kōlhātī, Malār, Myānwālē, Naṭī, Qasāī, Sāsī and Sikalgārī. The former group is of the same character as the Gipsy languages described under the head of Bhili in Vol. IX, Part iii, the latter can be compared with argots such as those used by the Panjab gamblers, the Chūhrās, etc. See Authorities, above.

Within the first of our two groups the Peṇḍhārīs in some respects occupy a position apart, being composed of various elements without any common race or religion. Their dialect shows that they have lived for some time in Eastern Rajputana, and history corroborates this inference. Both the Peṇḍhārīs and some of the Bhamṭās speak dialects which can be described as a mixture of Dakhiṇī Hindōstānī and Jaipurī. Most Bhamṭās, however, speak Telugu. Lādī is in all essentials a form of Jaipurī. The Ōḍs are probably related to the Vaḍars, who speak a dialect of Telugu, and they are probably originally Dravidians. Their dialect, however, points towards Malwa or perhaps farther west. The Bēldārīs are described as a Dravidian caste. They usually state that they are Rājputīs, and Dr. Crooke thinks that they are related to the Ōḍs. The traditions and dialects of all these tribes point to the conclusion that they belong to the same stock as the Banjārās, Habūrās, and other tribes who now use a form of Bhili. The traditions of both Banjārās and Habūrās point towards Rajputana. Ethnologists are, however, agreed that all these tribes are originally Dravidian, *i.e.* belong to the so-called Dravidian race. Their original home has perhaps been situated farther south. They have, however, become Aryanized at a comparatively early date, and philological considerations point to the conclusion that this occurred somewhere in Rajputana. Dr. Crooke is of opinion that these tribes are branches of one great nomadic race, which also comprises tribes such as the Sāsīs, Kanjars, Naṭs, and so on, *i.e.* such Indian Gipsies as possess an argot. Also here we find traditions which point towards Rajputana. Thus the Sāsīs were, according to one tradition, originally bards with the Chauhān Rājputīs. Their first ancestor was, they say, Sās Māl, and his brother Mallanūr was again the ancestor of the Kōlhātīs, who seem to be very closely connected with the Sāsīs. They are also related to the Kanjars, whose traditions only point towards the jungle, and the Naṭs, who sometimes, likewise, maintain that they have come from Rajputana. The Saiqalgars of Benares assert that they were originally Rājputīs from Marwar. The Dōms are, according to their traditions, Nishādas, and their first ancestor is said to have sprung from the thigh of King Vēna. Now Bēnbans is the name of a modern Rājput sept, which, according to Dr. Crooke, is of obvious Kherwar origin, and the country of the Nishādas is stated in the Mahābhārata (iii, 10538) to begin where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands. The Nishādas were, according to the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, forest robbers, and Mahīdhara identifies them with the Bhillas. In the Agnipurāṇa they are mentioned together with "other dwellers in the Vindhya." It will be seen that these traditions point towards Rajputana or Central India. It will now be of interest to see how far an examination of the dialects spoken by these tribes, *i.e.* of the dialects on which their argots are based, corroborates these indications. We cannot of course expect to find anything more than indications. The tribes in question are migratory, and, if they spend a long time in any district, they are likely to adopt its current vernacular.



If we begin with Sāsī, it will be shown later on that the dialect varies according to the locality in which it is spoken, it being Hindōstānī in the East and a mixture of Hindōstānī and Pañjābī in the Northern Panjab, the stronghold of the tribe. Stray features such as the softening of hard mutes in the dative and genitive suffixes *gu*, *gā* and in words such as *dand*, tooth, are such as are also found in Western Pahārī.<sup>1</sup> The same is the case with the oblique base ending in *ā* in weak bases, just as in Marāṭhī. Forms such as the ablative suffix *thō*; the pronouns *ham*, we; *tam*, you, remind us of Gujarātī, but also of Western Pahārī. The dialect of the Sāsīs is closely related to Kōlhāṭī. The termination *ō* of oblique bases, which is well known from Gujarātī and Western Pahārī, is here common. Forms such as *mērē-ku*, to me, remind us of Dakhinī Hindōstānī, while the use of the relative base *ja* with the meaning of a demonstrative in forms such as *jabō*, then, is in accordance with the practice in Rājasthānī dialects.

If we now turn to Kanjarī, we again find that the oblique base of weak nouns ends in *ā* or in *ō*, as in Western Pahārī. Strong masculine bases often end in *ō*, plural *ā*, as in Rājasthānī. Demonstrative pronouns such as *jō*, *jī*, that, are also in accordance with the usage in that language. Pronouns such as *urō*, he; *yō*, you; verbal suffixes such as *ir*, *gir*, in the present and past; the frequent use of relative participles; the tendency to form a negative verb, and so forth, perhaps point to the existence of a Dravidian element in the dialect. Kanjarī is a comparatively consistent form of speech and seems to possess less local varieties than many other Gipsy tongues. The Kanjars are ethnographically related to the Sāsīs and Kōlhāṭīs, and also to the Habūrās. Just as the latter speak Gujarātī Bhīlī in the Gangetic Doab, the language of the Kanjars reminds us of Gujarātī, Rājasthānī, and Pahārī even in districts where these languages are not home tongues. The Magahiyā Dōms of Saran and Champaran speak the current Bhōjpurī of the districts. There is, however, also a tissue of Rājasthānī, and the argot of the Dōms in so many points agrees with that in use among the Kanjars that it is impossible to separate the two. Naṭī also has some features which seem to point towards Rājasthānī, though the dialect underlying the argot of the Naṭs varies very much according to district. Gārōḍī is a mixture of Hindōstānī, Eastern Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī, and a similar position must be assigned to the so-called Myānwālē, while Qasāī is based on Hindōstānī, Sikalgārī on Gujarātī, and Malār on Nāgpuriā. Gulguliā, finally, is too insufficiently known to allow us to say anything definite about its position.

There are accordingly also some philological reasons for supposing a common origin of many of the Gipsy tribes. It will be remembered that they are described as belonging to the Dravidian race and that some of them use Dravidian forms of speech. Most of them, however, so far as they come within the scope of this Survey, speak Aryan tongues. If they are of Dravidian stock, that must be a secondary development. Their original language cannot have been Aryan. Now the existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. It is a curious coincidence that the stronghold of the Bhīls, who must have a similar origin, is found between the territories occupied by

<sup>1</sup> Pañjābī is closely related to Rājasthānī. See Vol. IX, Pt. iv, pp. 2ff., 103ff.

Rājasthānī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. Like many Gipsy languages some Bhīl dialects also have weak nouns with an oblique base ending in *ā*. In Gipsy, and in Pahārī, this *ā* is interchangeable with *ō*, which is common in Gujarātī. The theory might be hazarded that this use of an oblique base, of the kind elsewhere found in Marāṭhī, in all these tongues must be due to the existence of a substratum different from Rājasthānī and connected with Marāṭhī. There are also other philological indications that the language of Rajasthan and parts of Central India has once, in the times preceding the Rājput invasion, been more closely connected with Old Marāṭhī.

The conclusion arrived at above that most of these Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. We here find so much correspondence in details that we cannot well refrain from inferring that there is some connexion between these Indian argots. All of them are artificial languages devised for the purpose of enabling those who know them to converse with each other without the risk of being understood by outsiders. Such methods of speaking are in use all over the world, and they are known under different names in the different countries. In England they are called 'cant,' 'slang,' 'thieves' latin,' 'pedlars' French,' 'Saint Giles Greek,' 'flash tongue,' 'gibberish,' and so on, in France 'argot,' in Germany 'Rotwaelsch,' in Italy 'gergo,' 'furbesco,' in Spain 'germania,' and so on. Common to all of them is the extensive use of a peculiar vocabulary, and, in addition to this, the practice of disguising common words by means of transpositions and changes of letters. The vocabulary has usually been fetched from the most different sources, or else various figures of speech or associations of ideas lead to the use of well-known words with new meanings. Thus we find in the Spanish argot *Germania galle*, priest, taken from the Hebrew; *dupa*, ignorant, from the French; *londilla*, which is derived from *lon*, salt, and properly signifies a saltcellar, is used with the meaning of 'parlour,' because Spanish *sala*, parlour, suggests *sal*, salt, and so forth. Examples of transpositions from the same argot are *tisvar* for *vista*, view; *greno* for *negro*, a nigger. Changes of letters are also quite common; compare Rotwaelsch *witze* instead of *hitze*, heat. In the Pyrenees we find a device of the same character as the so-called *p-language*. Thus, instead of *jauna*, sir, they may say *jau-pau-na-pa* or *jau-gau-na-gra*. This of course is a very common way of producing an argot all over the world. Le Duchat tells us of the existence of a similar slang amongst the children of Metz, who add *dregue* to each syllable; thus *vousdregue esdregue undregue foudregue*, vous êtes un fou, you are a fool. Still more like our *p-language* is the Indian schoolboys' *Zargari*, where the letter *z* followed by a vowel is added to each syllable; thus *tu-zum kashā jazātizē huzō* for *tum kahā jātē hō*, where are you going? Dr. Leitner found this *Zargari* in use amongst the thieves of Peshawar, where he heard sentences such as *u-zu-s-ku-zo bu-zu-l-le-zā* for *us-kō bulā*, call him. A similar *s-language* is recorded from Bengal, where we find sentences such as *asami bosboi desdi-bosbo* for *āmi boi dibo*, I will give a book. Sometimes we can observe how similar word-plays take their origin in some new fashion. A certain class of society affects a peculiar way of pronouncing or transforming words, and the compliance with such whims becomes a kind of freemason's token, by which one shows himself as a member of fashionable society. Thus it was usual within certain circles in Paris, about 1830,

to add *mar* to every word, and to speak of *boulangemar* instead of *boulangier*, a baker; *cafemar* instead of *café*, coffee. That such a way of changing common words well deserves to be called an argot, is brought out by a comparison of the cant of the Yūsufzai badmāshes mentioned by Dr. Leitner,<sup>1</sup> where *miri* is added to every word.

The argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. All such speeches must be compared, and it is of interest to observe how the methods are the same all over the world, just as a comparison of languages belonging to different linguistic families discloses a high degree of similarity in fundamental principles.

In India there have probably been argots from the most ancient times. It is possible that they have to some extent their origin in  
Indian Argots.
sacrificial rites. It would often be necessary to veil the actual meaning of a ceremony in order to prevent rivals and enemies from perverting it by means of sorcery and counter-rites. The curious words *ayavan*, dark fortnight; *yavan*, bright fortnight; *sabda*, day; *sagarā*, night; *yarya*, month; *sumēka*, year (*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* i. 7.2.25ff.) seem to belong to such a sacrificial argot. The transmutations and changes of words which are sometimes prescribed in the old Sūtras, are perhaps of a similar kind, though the desire to avoid unlucky words also plays a rôle. The Indians, with their predilection for word-play and enigmatic language, must always have been especially qualified for devising means for disguising the meaning of their speech. An old example is found in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 5754ff.), where Vidura is represented as warning Yudhishtira, in the presence of a number of people, of impending treachery, in a jargon which only the speaker and his hearer could understand.<sup>2</sup>

There are, at the present day, many different argots in India. Captain, now Sir, R. C. Temple has explained the argot used by the Delhi Dalāls, or Brokers. This is a kind of speech which apparently has a very simple meaning, while some of the words used impart a second, hidden sense to those who are initiated. Thus an apparently innocent use of the numeral two or of words denoting such parts of the body as occur in pairs, conveys the meaning that the Dalāl claims a commission of two annas in the Rupee. Most Indian argots, and all those which are represented in the materials collected for the purposes of this Survey, are, however, of a different kind. They are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. This aim is attained by various means. There is, in the first place, a certain amount of peculiar words which are not used in ordinary speech. Such slang terms are apparently widely used, even by such tribes as have not developed a proper argot. Thus many of the criminal tribes of the Bombay Presidency have got them. Our information on the subject is, however, very imperfect, and it is, in most cases, impossible to state whence they have been taken. It is, on the other hand, noticeable how many of them are identical

<sup>1</sup> *Linguistic Fragments*, p. (xxv).

<sup>2</sup> The commentator Nilakaṇṭha says that this jargon made use of the language of outcasts (*mīchchhas*), which resembled the language of the country, but was ungrammatical and contained words in which syllables were omitted, added, or altered. He then gives examples.

in different argots. Thus the word *lug*, to die, is used in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōḍī, Myānwālē, Gulguliā, and Sikalgārī; *dūt*, eat, occurs in the specimens of Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and Sikalgārī; *khum*, mouth, in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, and Gārōḍī; *khaul*, *khaulā*, house, in Sāsī, Dōm, Naṭī, and Sikalgārī, and so forth. Such instances add strength to the conclusion arrived at above that there is a common base in many of these forms of speech. Even if we were able to trace each of these words back to its source, this would not prove anything in regard to the nature of this base. We have seen above how the peculiar words of European argots have been collected from the most different sources. The same is most certainly the case in India. We cannot therefore infer that the Kanjars of Belgaum or the Qasāis are of Arabic descent, because they use some Arabic numerals, or that the Sāsīs have anything to do with the Tibetans even if *bārmī*, wife, could be proved to be identical with Sherpa *permi*, or *chañ*, water, with Tibetan *chhu*. The great number of Hebrew words in Rotwalsch warns us to be cautious in such matters. Still, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, it is perhaps of some significance that several of the peculiar argot words seem to have a Dravidian origin. Thus we might compare Kanjarī *tu-khulē*, belly, with Kurukh *kūl*; Sāsī *lōṇā*, to beat, with Kurukh *lau'ā*; Myānwālē *gēlō*, boy, son, with Yerukala *gōvālyū*; Kanjarī and Sikalgārī *pāḍō*, bull, with Tamil *māḍu*; Dōm *ṭignā*, eat, with Tamil *timnu*; Sāsī *pīngī*, fire, with Kanarese *benki*; Dōm *kichwā*, fire, with Kurukh *chich*; Kanjarī *til*, *tiūr*, give, with Tamil *tara*, Savara *tiñ*; Kanjarī *kidō*, give, with Yerukala *kūḍ*; Myānwālē *hiṭwāḍ* (compare Giripārī Sirmaurī *hōṭ*), go, and *barwāḍ*, come, with Kanarese *hō*, go, Tamil *vara*, come, respectively; Sāsī *baunnā*, Kōlhāṭī *bōnā*, Naṭī *būnā*, Myānwālē *bōnō*, gold, with Tamil *pon*; Sāsī *kūdrā*, horse, with Tamil *kudirei*; Sāsī *khaulā*, Naṭī *khōllā*, Sikalgārī *khōl*, Malār *khaul*, house, with Gōlarī *khōlī*, room, Malayālam *kuḷi*, house; compare Malār *khulsā*, husband, and Yerukala *khuliśi*, wife, the last syllable of which latter word should be compared with *śi* in *taṅśi*, sister; Sāsī *ṭuṇḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *taṇḍe*, Naṭī *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, with Tamil *panṇi*; Sāsī *binkṇā*, run, with Kurukh *boṅgā*; Kanjarī, Sikalgārī *khēḍō*, Qasāi *khēḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *rhēḍā*, house, with Kanarese *khēḍā*; Kōlhāṭī *hēṭṭi*, wife, with Kanarese *heṇḍati*, and so forth. I feel no doubt that we should be able to compare many more words, if we had a fuller knowledge of the argots. In face of the fact that comparatively many of these parallels have been taken from Kurukh, it is perhaps worth while recalling the Kurukh tradition that they have come from the Karnatic and proceeded eastwards along the Narbada, *i.e.* past the Vindhya. It may also be of interest in this place to make a note of some few details which will be mentioned below when dealing with the individual argots, such as the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī, etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots; the frequent use of relative participles, of a negative verb, of certain pronouns and suffixes, and so on, in Kanjarī; the employment of *karkē*, having done, or similar forms with the meaning of Tamil *enru*, Yerukala *aṇḍa*, Sanskrit *iti*, etc., after a direct quotation, and so forth, though many of these features are also found in Pahārī and elsewhere.

Most words in the Indian argots are not, however, so far as we are able to judge with our present imperfect knowledge, peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of

disguise, just as is the case in European argots. It is noticeable that the transposition of letters after the pattern of the English cant word *icelap*, police, plays a comparatively unimportant rôle in the materials at my disposal. I may note instances such as Sāsī *kābrā*=*bakrā*, goat; *chōmī*=*mōchī*, shoe-maker; *tēp*=*pēt*, belly; Gārōḍī *ḍabō*=*baḍō*, big, and so forth. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, which then often replace the beginning or the end, respectively, of the word. The details will be mentioned under each argot. In this place I shall only make some general remarks. The simplest way of disguising a word by means of a prefix is exactly the counterpart of the practice in the *p*-language and Zargari. Thus in Sāsī *kha-kāl*, famine; *ḍha-gal*, neck, the syllables *kha*, *ḍha*, respectively, have simply been prefixed to the ordinary word. It is, however, still more common to drop the old initial in such cases; thus, Sāsī *khas*=*das*, ten; *jhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry. In some forms of Naṭī we find the initial added again at the end, thus, *mēt-khā*=*khēt*, field. In Malār *chahinbahin*=*bahin*, sister, we see the entire word in its original form added to the disguised word. These two last devices are of course more easily discovered, and they do not seem to be of common occurrence. With regard to prefixes I would add that we can, in a few cases, trace the existence of rules or rather tendencies which pervade all the argots. Thus *k* and *kh* are most commonly prefixed to words beginning with vowels; the palatals *ch*, *chh*, *j* and *jh* are almost exclusively used with such words as begin with labials; *nh* is a substitute for aspirated letters and also for *s*; and *r* is mostly used before or instead of gutturals. The fact that such is the practice in all our argots is a further indication that they have a common base.

The most usual state of affairs with regard to disguising suffixes is illustrated by words such as Sāsī *kaṇhgā*=*kahā*, said, where a single consonant is added. Words such as Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī *bāp-tā*, father, where a consonant followed by a vowel has been added, are of a similar kind. There are, however, also more complex additions, somewhat like the Parisian *cafemar*=*café*. The most common are additions after verbs, such as *sar* in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Naṭī *ā-sar*, come, and *uar*, *wār*, *bār*, in numerous Kanjarī, Dōm, Qasāī, Malār and Myānwālē verbs, and so forth. We can also here notice how the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus *k* or *g* is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī, Naṭī, Myānwālē, and so on; additions containing an *r* are, as already remarked, common in verbs in many argots; additions such as Dōm *khailā*, Sikalgārī *khalā*, Kanjarū *elō*, Myānwālē *ēlū*, Malār *lu*, are clearly connected with each other. On the whole it seems certain that not only are the general principles the same in the different argots, but that their application in many cases follows identical lines in all of them.

If we take a general view of all the facts, we will

#### Conclusions.

see that :—

1. the most important Gipsy tribes are classed by ethnologists as forming one race, of Dravidian features, which seem to have long led a migratory life, roaming over most of India;
2. many of them have traditions tracing their origin back to the Rājpuṭs;
3. their dialects also point to the conclusion that the tribes have lived amongst people speaking Rājasthānī dialects, though—

4. some philological features show that there is a sub-structure of languages more related to Marāṭhī than to Rājasthānī ;
5. many of these tribes have developed a secret language based on their dialects ;
6. these argots contain several peculiar words which are common to many of them ;
7. the principles underlying the formation of these cant languages and also their application in individual cases present striking points of analogy in the different tribes ;
8. a certain number of the peculiar cant words seem to be Dravidian ; and
9. some Gipsy tribes speak Dravidian languages.

Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that the various Gipsy languages dealt with in the ensuing pages have a common origin, a language which was once spoken by a tribe of Dravidian race that came under the influence of Aryan tongues in a locality where languages akin to Marāṭhī had been spoken but had to give way to Rājasthānī. This would take us to the Vindhya and the country to the north of the Vindhya, *i.e.* to the territories which the Aryans found occupied by Nishādas. The tribe or tribes in question have probably lived as vagrants from the most ancient times. With the growth of Aryan civilisation they would naturally choose as their stronghold localities where Aryan civilisation had not got a firm footing. The many Bhil dialects spoken in the hills from the Vindhya and northwards probably have a similar origin and might well be the tongues of descendants of such migratory tribes who had taken to a settled mode of life. Such questions should, however, for the time being be left to the consideration of ethnologists. It may, in this connexion, be noted that we find Gipsy tribes and also Bhils who, at the present day, still speak Dravidian tongues.

It has been remarked above that the denomination Gipsy does not imply any connexion with the Gipsies or Romany Chals of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. It has also been pointed out that their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as the Dōms. In this connexion it is worth while noting the similarity between European Gipsy words such as *gājō*, a gentile, *jukel*, dog, and Sāsī *kajjā*, Naṭī *kājā*, man ; Kanjari *jhūkil*, Myānwālē *jukēlā*, Sāsī *chhūkal*, *bhūkal*, Kōlhātī *dhokkal*, dog. The language of the gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion amongst scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. The hypothesis might, however, be hazarded that members of the same vagrant race from which the Indian Gipsy tribes are descended came up to the North-West, and remained there long enough to adapt their language to the practice prevailing among frontier tribes. Some of them passed on before this adaptation took place and became the ancestors of the Armenian gipsies, whose language does not point to the north-western frontier but rather to Hindōstān. The bulk of these Gipsies later on brought their language, as modified among frontier tribes, to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romany Chals.

## PENḌHĀRĪ.

Under the name of 'Pindarees' the Penḍhārīs are well known in Indian history. They were plundering bands of freebooters who first came to notice after the fall of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghāns, Marāṭhās, or Jāts. They represented the debris of the Mughul empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhammadan or Hindū powers that sprang up out of its ruins. Their head-quarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to Central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Penḍhārī captains, Amīr Khān, had an organised army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Their power was finally broken by the Marquis of Hastings in 1817.

Their name is said to be derived from *pēṇḍhā*, a sheaf, and probably meant originally 'grasscutters.'

At the Census of 1911 the number of Penḍhārīs was returned as 6,413, 100 of whom were Hindūs and 6,313 Musalmāns.

They were distributed as follows :—

Central India Agency	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,014
Elsewhere	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,399
TOTAL										.	<u>6,413</u>

The only district which returned Penḍhārī as a separate language for this Survey was Dharwar of Bombay, which gave a total of 1,250 speakers. Specimens have, however, also been received from Belgaum (Bombay). In other districts Penḍhārī has probably been included under the head of Hindōstānī. It is used only as a home language by the tribe which speaks it. In their intercourse with other people, its speakers employ ordinary Hindōstānī.

To judge from the specimens Penḍhārī is a mixture of rough Dakhinī Hindōstānī with Marāṭhī and Rājasthānī. The particular dialect of the last mentioned language with which their Hindōstānī is mixed, seems to be Jaipurī. Compare *pūtā*, sons; *bāpā*, father; *chhē*, is; *chhā*, was. It is not necessary to discuss this jargon at length. I give two short specimens, one from each district. They both agree in all essential points. Note the use of *nē* as a postposition of the locative, present forms such as *uttarūnu*, I descend; *mārūnu*, I beat, where the final *nu* reminds us of the Dravidian termination of verbs, and the way in which *kar-kē*, having done, is used at the end of a quotation, like the Sanskrit *iti* and the Dravidian *andu*, having said.

[ No. I.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PENDHARI.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT DHARWAR.

Kisī ēk ādmī-kū dō pūtā chhē. Us-nē-sī nhānā pūt āpnē  
*Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own*  
 bāp-kū bōlā, ‘bāp, mērē hissē-kū āwattō māl-kā bāṭā mijē dē.’  
*father-to said, ‘father, my share-to coming property-of share to-me give.’*  
 Unē āpnī jindgī un-kū bāṭ-diyā. Thōḍē din-kē pichchē  
*By-him own property them-to was-divided. Few days-of after*  
 nhānā sab milā-kē ēk dūr mulak-kū rasta liyā.  
*by-younger all having-gathered one distant country-to way was-taken.*  
 Whā unē dhundpanē-sē āpnā māl kharāb-kar-diyā. Sab  
*There by-him luxuriousness-with own property spoiled-was-made. All*  
 gamā-lē-kē aṅgē ō mulak-nē ēk baḍā dukāl paḍā. Bhī unē  
*spent-having then that country-in one big famine fell. And by-him*  
 garībī-nē rah-gayā. Unē ō mulak-kē ēk ādmī-kē pās  
*poverty-in it-was-lived. By-him that country-of one man-of near*  
 jā-kar un-kū mil-kē rah-gayā. Unē isē suwrā  
*gone-having him-to joined-having it-was-lived. By-him him swine*  
 charānē-kū āpnē khētan-nē bhēj-diyā. Ō suwrā khānē-kā bhūsē-sī  
*feeding-for own fields-into it-was-sent. He swine eating-of husks-from*  
 āpnā pēt bharnē-kī khuṣī chhī, tab ō-bī usē kōyī  
*own belly filling-of happiness was, then that-even to-him by-anyone*  
 diyē nāī. Unē huśār hō-kē, ‘mērē bāp-kē kettē  
*was-given not. By-him sensible become-having, ‘my father-of how-many*  
 majūrdāran-kū āpnē-kū bas hō-kē jāsti rahē ottē  
*servants-to themselves-for sufficient become-having more remained so-much*  
 rōṭyā rahwē-chhē. Huwā-tō-bī mai bhūk-sē marū. Mai  
*bread remained. Still I hunger-from die. I*  
 nikal-kē bāp-kē taraf jā-kē usē kahūgā, “arē bāp,  
*gone-out-having father-of direction gone-having to-him will-say, “O father,*  
 mai tērē sāmnē bhī Allā-kē uppar gunhā karā. Is-kē aṅgē  
*by-me of-thee before and God-of against sin was-done. This-of after*  
 tērā pūt kawā-lēnē-kū mai lāyakh nāī. Tērē majūri-kē jāwānan-nē ēk  
*thy son being-called-for I worthy not. Thy hire-of servants-in one*



kar-kē mijē bī rakh," kar-kē bōlū,' kar-kē bōl-liyā.  
*made-having me also keep," said-having may-say,' said-having it-was-said.*  
 Uṭh-kē āpnē bāp-kanē āyā. Chhēto unē abī rastā lhai  
*Arisen-having own father-near came. But for-him still way much*  
 dūr chhī-tō us-kā bāp usē dēkh-kē mehar lakā-kē  
*far was-then his father him seen-having mercy applied-having*  
 nhāt-kē jā-kē galē mil-kē usē mukkā diyā.  
*run-having gone-having neck embraced-having to-him kiss was-given.*  
 Pūt usē, 'bāp Allā-kē uppar bhī tērā ākhā-kē sāmne mai gunhā  
*Son to-him, 'father God-of against and thy eyes-of before by-me sin*  
 karā. Ab aṅgē kadi-bī mai tērā pūt kawā-liyē sarikā nai,'  
*was-done. Now after ever-even I thy son calling-for fit not,'*  
 kar-kē bōlā. Chhētō-bī bāp-nē āpnē naukār-lōkā-kū, 'lhai chōkōt  
*said-having said. Yet father-by own servants-to, 'very good*  
 jhagē-kū bhār lakā-kē usē pirā bhī us-kē hāt-kū aṅgūṭī  
*coat out brought-having him dress and his hand-to ring*  
 bhā-kē pāw-kū pāpsā dēō. Bhī haman khā-kē khuśī-sē  
*put-having feet-on shoes give. And we eaten-having happily*  
 rhañ. Kāy-kayē-tō ē mērā pūt mar-gayā chhā-tō, phir-kē  
*should-stay. Why-said-then this my son dead-gone was, again*  
 jītā huwā; gayā-chhā-tō, phir-kē milā,' kar-kē bōlā. Bhī  
*alice became; gone-was, again was-found,' said-having it-was-said. And*  
 unan khuśī kar-nē lāgē.  
*they merry to-make began.*

[No. 2.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

PEN̄DHĀRĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Dhūp kāl-nē ēk kōlā bahut pyās lāg-kē jāngal-nē phir-kē  
*Heat time-at one fox much thirst felt-being wood-in rambling*  
 pāṇī dhuṇḍā, lēkin kã-bī naĩ milā. Pichhē-sī dōngā  
*water searched, but anywhere not it-was-found. At-last deep*  
 thaddē-nē thōḍā pāṇī khāḍ-rākē dēkh-kē agāḍī-kā dhyān naĩ  
*pit-in a-little water standing seen-having future-of thought not*  
 kar-kē us-kē bich-nē kudā. Whã khūb pāṇī  
*made-having it-of the-midst-in he-jumped. There much water*  
 pī-kē phir-kē uppar āṇē-kū wāstē chintā karā.  
*drunk-having again up coming-for for-the-sake thinking was-made.*  
 Usē rastā-ch naĩ chhī, ō-sabab whã-ch taṭṭ-kē  
*To-that way not was, (for-)that-reason there-indeed being-in-a-fix*  
 khāḍ-rā-kē lhai phikīr karā. Ottē-nē-ch ēk ṭagar wō-ch  
*standing much anxiety was-made. That-much-in one goat that-very*  
 rāstē-sī pyās lāg-kē ā-kē khaddē-nē kōlē-kū dēkhā. Tab  
*road-from thirst felt-being coming pit-in fox it-was-seen. Then*  
 ō ṭagar, 'hō kōlā bā, tũ lai śānā, haman sab pyās  
*that goat, 'O fox father, thou much clever, we all thirst*  
 lāg-kē maran ; kisē naĩ mālum kar-kē tũ ēkla-ch  
*felt-being die ; to-anybody not known made-having thou alone-quite*  
 ā-kē pāṇī pīnū ; achchhā, rhan-dē, māĩ bī tallē utarūnu ;  
*coming water drinkest ; well, be-let, I too down descend ;*  
 pāṇī kaĩ chhē ? kar-kē pūchhā. Usē kōlā, 'dōs, kettā  
*water how is ? saying asked. To-that fox, 'friend, how-much*  
 mittā kar-kē hōlū ? Ē pāṇī agāḍī amīr sarkā chhē.  
*sweet saying may-I-say ? This water quite nectar like is.*  
 Tũ āyā, bahut chakōṭ huwā ; jaldī ā-kē pāṇī pī, bhī  
*Thou camest, much good became ; quickly coming water drink, and*  
 kōṇ-tō-bī āy-tō tujē milnē-kē naĩ, kar-kē bōlā. Ē  
*anyone-else comes-if to-thee getting-of not, saying said. This*  
 phasāṇē-kī bāt suṇ-kē wō diwānā ṭagar tallē kudī-mār-kē  
*cunning-of word heard-having that silly goat down jumped-having*

awal pēt̐ bhar-kē pāṇī piyā. Pichhē-sī uppar āṇē-kū  
*first belly filled-having water was-drunk. Afterwards up coming-for*  
 wāstē ō dōṇō mil-kē bahut wakat phikīr karā.  
*in-order those both joined-having much time anxiety was-made.*

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### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In summer, a fox being very thirsty and looking for water on all sides, rambled in the forest, but to no purpose. At last he found a little water in a deep pit and jumped into it not heeding the future consequence. There he drank water to his heart's content and began to meditate as to how he was to get out, but there was no way.

Therefore, there he was, a close prisoner, and fell to thinking. Meanwhile, a goat being thirsty, chanced to come down to the very pit by the same road and seeing a fox in it, said,—‘ Oh, sir Fox, you are very clever indeed ; we are all dying of thirst, while you drink water here, having come all alone without the knowledge of anybody. Very well, I too will come down ; how is the water ? ’

Upon this the fox said,— ‘ Oh, friend, it is too sweet to describe. This water tastes just like nectar. You are welcome, come soon and drink it. If anybody else happen to come here, you may not get it.’

At this cunning advice, the silly goat jumped down and drank his fill. Then they both consulted for a long time how to effect their escape.

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## BHĀMṬĪ.

The Bhāmṭās are a criminal class who are especially active as railway thieves. It seems probable that their original home was the Telugu-speaking country. At the present day, however, settlements are to be found in several of the districts and native states in and bordering on the Bombay Presidency. At the Census of 1911, 4,270 Bhāmṭās were returned from the Central Provinces and Berar and none from elsewhere.

They do not lead a gipsy life but settle in some village from which their gangs start on their thieving expeditions.

They are known under several different names such as *Gaṇṭhachōrs*, *Uchliās*, *Vaḍarīs*, and so forth. The home tongue of most of them is Vaḍarī, a debased form of Telugu.<sup>1</sup> They also speak Marāṭhī, Hindōstānī, and Kanarese. In speaking Kanarese they drop their 'h's.' The home language of some of the Gaṇṭhachōrs of the Bijapur District is Kanarese. Those of Nagpur in the Central Provinces speak a broken mixture of Dakhinī Hindōstānī and Jaipur Rājasthānī. Only fourteen speakers of this Bhāmṭī were reported from the Central Provinces. As the Bhāmṭās of elsewhere speak Telugu, I do not further refer to them. It is hardly worth while giving examples of the others. As, however, some good specimens have been received, I give a portion of a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and a folktale received from Nagpur.

The fullest accounts of the Bhāmṭās which I have seen are in pp. 464 and ff. of Part I of the *Poona Gazetteer*, in pp. 3 and ff. of *The History of Railway Thieves with Hints on Detection*, by M. Paupa Rao Naidu, Madras, 1900, and in pp. 16 and ff. of the *Notes on Criminal Classes in the Bombay Presidency*, by M. Kennedy, Bombay, 1908.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. IV, pp. 607ff.

[ No. 3.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Koī-ēk ādmī-kū dō pōryā chhē. Us-mā-kā nānā pōryā  
*A-certain man-to two sons were. Them-in-of the-younger son*  
 bābā-kū kahā-chhu, 'us-mē-kā mē-kō mērā hissā dē.' Phēr us-nē  
*the-father-to said, 'that-in-of me-to my share give.' Then him-by*  
 us-kō daulat-kā hissā bāt-diyā-chhē. Phēr thōdē dīn hōyē-chhē  
*him-to the-property-of share was-divided. Then a-few days passed-had*  
 nānā pōryā sab jamā lē-kē dūr dēs gayā-chhē. Aur  
*the-younger son all estate taken-having far country went. And*  
 wahā jā-kē bēakkal-sē paisā khōyā-chhē. Phēr sab  
*there gone-having indiscriminately money he-squandered. And all*  
 kharch-nē-kē bād us dēs-mē baḍā kāl paḍā-chhē. Ibē  
*spending-of after that country-in great famine fell. Thereby*  
 us-kō bipat paḍī-chhē. Ibē ō kāi us dēs-kō bhalē ādmī-kē  
*him-to want befell. Then he some that country-of a-good man-of*  
 jaurē rahā-chhē. Us-nē us-kō apnā khēt-mē ḍukar charānē-kō  
*near remained. Him-by him-to his-own field-in swine feeding-for*  
 lagāyā-chhē. Ibē ḍukar-kā bhusā khā-kē pēt bharan-kō  
*it-was-employed. Then the-swine-of husks eaten-having belly filling-of*  
 bichār kiya-chhē. Kōī-nē us-kō kāi-nā diyā-chhē.  
*thought made-was. Any-body-by him-to anything-not given-was.*

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[No. 4.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BHĀMTĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT NAGPUR.

Ēk Birbal-kā bētā chhā, ēk rājā-kā bētā chhā. Un-kī baḍī  
*One Birbal-of son was, one king-of son was. Them-of great*  
 dōstī rahē. Dōī-kā dil ēk chhā. Un-nē kahā kē,  
*friendship existed. Both-of mind one was. Them-by it-was-said that,*  
 'jis-kā bihāw pahilē hōgā un-nē apnī bāykō dusrē-kē ghar  
*'whose marriage first will-be him-by his-own wife other's house*  
 paṭhāw-nā.' Bādśāhā-kē bētē-kā bihāw pahilē huā. Us-kī  
*is-to-be-sent.' The-king-of son-of marriage first became. His*  
 barāt baḍē dhūm-sū āi-chhē. Phir us-kū ēk bistar-par  
*marriage-procession great pomp-with came. Then him-to one bed-upon*  
 hō-kē dōst-kī yād āi-chhē. Phēr ō apnē mēhārū-kū  
*become-having friend-of recollection came. Then he his-own wife-to*  
 kahi-chhē kē, 'pahilē tū Birbal-kē yahā jā-kē āw ; mērā  
*said that, 'first thou Birbal's here gone-having come ; my*  
 kaul-bachan huā-chhē.' O phēr Birbal-kē yahā hāt-mē pachārtī  
*promise become-is.' She then Birbal's here the-hand-in five-lamps*  
 lē-kē gaī-chhē. Us-kū rastē-mā chār chōr milē-chhē. Us-kā  
*taken-having went. Her-to street-in four thieves met. Her*  
 sab ḍāginā utārē-rahē. Un-nē kahī kē, 'tū mērā  
*all ornaments taking-off-they-were. Her-by it-was-said that, 'thou my*  
 ḍāginā kā utārē-chhē ? Mē-kō Birbal-kē hā-sō ā-jān-dē ;  
*ornaments why art-taking-off ? Me-to Birbal's here-from let-go-and-come ;*  
 phir mērā sab ḍāginā utār-lē.' Chōr-nē kahyā, 'yā bi  
*then my all ornaments take-off.' The-thieves-by it-was-said, 'she too*  
 bēs kaī-chhē.' Yēk chōr wahā baiṭhā. Tīn chōr gayē chōrī  
*well said.' One thief there sat. Three thieves went theft*  
 karan-kū. Phir yā gai Birbal-kē yahā. Birbal-nē us-kō  
*committing-for. Then she went Birbal's here. Birbal-by her-as-to*  
 dēkhī-chhē. Palaṅg-par baṭhāī-chhē. Baṭhā-kē apnē dil-mē  
*she-was-seen. A-bed-on she-was-made-to-sit. Seated-having his-own the-mind-in*  
 sōch karā kē, 'badśāhā sāhnē-bi uttēhī chhē aur gawār-bi  
*consideration was-made that, 'the-king wise-also that-much is and a-fool-also*

uttehī chhē, kē apnī śēj-kī bāykō mērē yahā pathāi-chhē.  
*that-much is, because his-own bed-of wife my here sent-is.*

Us-kō kahā, 'itnē din ō mērā bhāi rahā, ibbē tū  
*Her-to it-was-said, 'so-many days he my brother was, therefore thou*  
 bhān huī-chhē. Wō mērā bahinōi huwā.' Wajīr-nē  
*sister become-art. He my brother-in-law became.' The-minister-by*

us-kō lugdā āngī pahērā-chhē, aur achchhē bhāri pāch ḍāginē  
*her-to a-veil a-bodice was-put-on, and best valuable five ornaments*  
 diyē-chhē, kahā, 'bāi, tū jā.' Bāi rastē-sū chalī.  
*were-given, it-was-said, 'lady, thou go.' The-lady the-street-by went.*

Ēk chōr rastā-mā baṭhā rahē. Us-kō bāi-nē kahī, 'mērē  
*One thief on-the-road seated was. Him-to the-lady-by it-was-said, 'my*  
 sab ḍāginē utār-lē. Mē-kō pāch ḍāginē jāstī milē-chhē.  
*all ornaments take-off. Me-to five ornaments more have-been-obtained.'*

Uttī bāt-chit hō-rahī-chhē tō tin chōr āyē-chhē. Un-kō  
*That-much conversation going-on-was then the-three thieves came. Them-to*  
 aisī chōrī milī-chhē kō sāt piḍhī khāyē tō  
*such a-theft was-obtained that seven generations if-they-eat then*  
 sarē-nā. Chōr-nē kahā kē, 'terā pāyraw  
*it-would-be-exhausted-not. The-thieves-by it-was-said that, 'thy footfall*

bēs lagā. Ham-kū chōrī khub milī-chhē Tō ham-sū  
*good has-been-proved. Us-to theft great obtained-was. Therefore us-from*  
 pāch ḍāginē lē-lē.' Chōr-nē pāch ḍāginē diyē-chhē. Phir  
*five ornaments take.' The-thieves-by five ornaments given-were. Then*

bādsāhā-kē jōrē āi-chhē. Bādsāhā-nē dil-mē sōsā kē, 'dil  
*the-king-of near she-came. The-king-by mind-in it-was-thought that, 'the-heart*  
 chār-mā kis-kā baḍā chhē ?'  
*the-four-among whose great is ?'*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a Prime Minister named Bīrbal, who had a son. The king, his master, also had a son. These two were great friends, and had all their thoughts and wishes in common, so they agreed that whichever of the two was married first should send his wife to the other's house. The king's son was the one that was first married, and the bride came home to the palace with great pomp. When the prince came to bed with her, he remembered his friend, and said to her, 'You must first go to Bīrbal's house. I must keep my promise.' So she started off for Bīrbal's house, carrying in her hand the five lustration lamps of her wedding night.

On the way she met four thieves, who straightway began to relieve her of all ornaments. Said she, 'Why are you taking off my ornaments? Let me first go to Bīrbal's house, and afterwards come back to you. Then you can take them.' The thieves approved of this suggestion, and left one of their number sitting there, while the other three went off to look for more booty.

So she went on to Bīrbal's house. Bīrbal,<sup>1</sup> as soon as he saw her, made her to sit upon a bed, and thought in his mind, 'The king is partly wise, and partly a fool; for he has sent here, to me, the wife of his own bed.' Then he said to her, 'For many days your husband has been my brother. Now I look upon you as my sister, and on him as my sister's husband.' Then he gave her a present of a handsome veil and a bodice, and of five valuable jewels, and told her to go home. So she went back by the way she had come, and found the thief sitting where she had left him.

'Now,' said she, 'take off all my ornaments. I have got five more than I had when you saw me last.' While they were talking the three other thieves came up. They had been so successful in their thefts that they had got booty sufficient to feed seven generations without being exhausted. They said, 'Your footsteps have brought us good luck. We have found enormous booty. So we will not take your ornaments. Please accept five more ornaments from us.' So they gave her five ornaments, and she returned to the king, and told him her adventures. The king wondered in his heart which among the four had shown the greatest nobility of character.

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<sup>1</sup> The story is confused. It should be Bīrbal's son who acts as described. The king is also similarly confused with his son.



## BĒLDĀRĪ.

Bēldār literally means one who works with the *bēl* or mattock. It is a general term for the aggregate of low Hindū tribes who make their living by earth work. The number of Bēldārs returned at the Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bengal . . . . .	9,294
Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	88,912
Bombay . . . . .	12,398
Central Provinces and Berar . . . . .	25,616
United Provinces . . . . .	39,035
Central India Agency . . . . .	26,378
Elsewhere . . . . .	3,787
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>205,420</u>

The majority of these Bēldārs probably speak the same dialect as their surroundings. According to Sir Herbert Risley the Bēldārs of Bihar and Western Bengal form a separate wandering caste of Dravidian origin. The same is perhaps also the case in some other districts. The word Bēldār is accordingly used in two different senses denoting sometimes a distinct caste, sometimes all low caste earth-workers. It is impossible to decide how many of the Bēldārs enumerated at the last Census in the various provinces belong to either group.

During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Bēldārī was returned from Rajputana, Berar and Bombay. The estimated numbers of speakers were as follows :—

Rajputana, Jaisalmir State . . . . .	100
Berar—	
Amraoti . . . . .	800
Ellichpur . . . . .	500
Buldana . . . . .	585
	<u>1,885</u>
Bombay Presidency—	
Thana . . . . .	2,550
Satara . . . . .	350
Satara Agency, State Aundh . . . . .	15
“ “ State Phaltan . . . . .	40
Kolhapur State . . . . .	50
Southern Maratha Jaghirs . . . . .	200
	<u>3,155</u>
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>5,140</u>

The returns of the last Census do not furnish us with materials for checking these figures.

Specimens of the so-called Bēldārī have been received from Ellichpur and Buldana, from the Jaisalmir State, and from the Ramdurg State. Though the dialect differs in the different districts, being more or less influenced by the prevailing

languages, there are some characteristic features which recur everywhere, and it is accordingly possible to speak of a separate dialect. Bēldārī is not, however, a fixed form of speech with consistent features. Like Ōḍkī it is a mixture. The prevailing elements are Marāṭhī and Eastern Rājasthānī. To the former language belongs forms such as the plurals *bēṭē*, sons (Ramdurg); *nāḍē*, tanks (Jaisalmir); *daūs*, to a father (Buldana); *maṇsān*, to a man (Ramdurg); *danāt*, in days (Ramdurg); the oblique bases in *ā* of weak nouns such as *dishā-sū*, from a direction (Jaisalmir); *uthand-panā-sē*, in riotousness (Ellichpur); the genitive termination *chā* in the Jaisalmir and Ramdurg specimens, the common termination *lā* of the past tense, and so forth. Rājasthānī elements are forms of strong bases such as *pōryā*, sons; *chhōṭō*, small (Ellichpur); *ghōṛō*, horse (Jaisalmir) (but also *kuttā*, dog; compare also *ghōṛē*, horses; *ghōṛiyā*, mares); the dative suffixes *-nē* (Amraoti, Ramdurg, Jaisalmir); *-nā*, *nū* (Jaisalmir); *-kē* (Buldana) and *-ku* (Ellichpur); compare Mālvi *-nē*, *-kē*, *-kū*; the genitive suffix *-kō*, *-kā*, *-kī* (Ellichpur, Buldana); compare Mēwātī, Jaipuri and Mālvi *-kō*, *-kī*; the ablative suffixes *-sē* and *-sū*; compare Mālvi *-sē*, *-sū*; the past tense in *yō*, *ō*, which is used side by side with forms in *-lā*; forms such as *marū*, I die; *kahū*, I may say (Ellichpur); *marē-hē*, I am dying (Jaisalmir); *kahus*, I shall say (Buldana) and so forth.

It would also be possible to compare some of the *l*-forms of the past with Ōṛiyā, and the common *mōr*, *mōra*, my, mine, seems connected with forms in Eastern languages. It is accordingly likely that there is also an admixture of Eastern vernaculars. The chief components of Bēldārī are, however, of the same kind as in Ōḍkī. With that form of speech there are also other points of agreement; thus the pronoun *tudā*, thy; conjunctive participles such as *kartī*, having done, and so forth. Note the curious form *mērē-ku*, me, an idiom frequent in Dakhinī Hindōsthānī, and also finding parallels in Eastern languages, as in the Bihārī *hamarā-kē*, with the same meaning.

It would, however, be waste of time and paper to go further into details. The general character of this mixed form of speech will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable from Ellichpur. It will be seen that the Rājasthānī element is rather strong in the Bēldārī of Ellichpur.

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[ No. 5.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

## BELDARĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Ēk admī-kē dō pōryā bhayē. Ō-mē-kō chhōtō pōryā bāpē  
*One man-of two sons were. Them-in-of younger by-son father-to*  
 kahyē, 'dādā, jē jingī-kō hisā ayē, ō mōhē dē.'  
*it-was-said, 'father, which property-of share comes, that me give.'*  
 Phir ō-na sampat bāt-kē dī. Phir thōdē din-mē chhōtō  
*Then him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-in small*  
 pōryā sab jamā kar-kē dūr dēs-mē gayō, whā ō-nē  
*son all together having-made far country-in went, there him-by*  
 uthandpanā-sē aplō paisā udā diyō. Ō-nē sab kharchē-par  
*riotousness-in own money wasting was-given. Him-by all spent-on*  
 ōnē mulak-mē bahōt dukāl paḍō, ō-nē paisā-kī aḍchaṇ paḍan  
*that country-in much famine fell, him-to money-of want to-fall*  
 lāgī. Phir ōnē dēs-kē ēk griha-kē jōrē jā-kē  
*began. Then that country-of one householder-of near having-gone*  
 rahyō, ō-nē ōhē āpnē khēt-mē ḍukar charā-nē bhējō. Tab  
*stayed, him-by him own fields-in swine feeding-for was-sent. Then*  
 ḍukar jō ṭarphal khāt hōē, ō-sē āpnā pēt bhar-nō,  
*swine which husks eating were, those-from own belly should-be-filled,*  
 aśī ō-kē man-mē āī; ō-nē kachhu kōhī didā nahī.  
*thus his mind-in came; him-to anything by-anyone was-given not.*  
 Phir ō sud-par ān-kē bōlō, 'mōrē bāp-kī kittē rōjdār-ku  
*Then he sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of how-many servants-to*  
 bharpūr rōṭī hai, aur mī bhūk-sē marū. Mē uṭh-kē āpnē  
*richly bread is, and I hunger-from die. I having-arisen own*  
 bāp-kē itē jāū aur ōhē kahū, "ē dādā, mē dēw-kē  
*father-of near may-go and to-him may-say, "O father, by-me God-of*  
 jōrē aur tōrē dēkhat pāp karē. Abhī-sē tōrā pōryā kahnē  
*near and thy in-sight sin was-done. Now-from thy son to-say*  
 lāyak mī nahiyā. Ēk mahindār sarikō mērē-ku rakh.'"  
*worthy I not-am. One servant like me keep.'"*

The next specimen hails from Buldana. It is of the same kind as the preceding. It is not a good specimen, and the noting down of the different sounds does not seem to be quite accurate. I give the text as I have received it.

[ No. 6.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BELDĀRĪ.

DISTRICT BULDANA.

Kōn      ēk      duhī      lāwdā      hōtā.      Dunun-mē-sē      lahānā  
*Some      one(-of)      two      sons      were.      Both-in-from      by-younger-one*  
 daūs      kahlā,      'daū,      mōrē      hissā-ki      jingī      ma-kē      dē.  
*father-to      it-was-said,      'father,      my      share-of      property      me-to      give.'*  
 Mhanūn      daū-na      jingī      dunun-kē      bāt      dī.      Thōra      din-mē  
*Therefore      father-by      property      both-to      dividing      was-given.      Few      days-in*  
 lahānā      āpli      jingī      lē-kan      dusrē      gāw-pē      gēla.      Yā-sē  
*small-one      own      property      having-taken      other      village-to      went.      This-from*  
 gēla      āpna      jingī      chain-se      udāi.      Yē      ritī-sē      paisa  
*went      own      property      merry-making-in      was-wasted.      This      way-in      money*  
 chain-mē      udāē,      maṅg      baḍā      kāl      gira.      Kāl      girla  
*merry-making-in      were-wasted,      afterwards      big      famine      fell.      Famine      fell*  
 mhanjē      pañchāil      girla.      Khāē-kē      maṅg      jāy-kūn      dusrē-kē  
*then      difficulty      fell.      Eating-for      begging      having-gone      another-of*  
 gharē      raha.      Wō-nē      dukhar      rākhē-kē      dhari.      Wō-kē      gharē  
*in-house      remained.      Him-by      swine      tending-for      was-kept.      His      in-house*  
 kōṇḍā      dukhar-kā      khāēl      u-ch      āpnē      kōṇḍā      khāēl      dēel      tar      pēt  
*husks      swine-of      ate      that-even      him-by      husks      ate      gave      then      belly*  
 bharēl;      wuhī      ō-nē      dūil      nahī.      Yē-lartā      ākh      ughaḍ      gayī,  
*filled;      that-even      him-to      was-given      not.      This-for      eyes      opened      went,*  
 tab      āpnē-kē      kah      lagā,      'āpna      dāū-kē      jōḍ      naukar      paisā  
*then      himself-to      to-say      began,      'own      father-of      near      servants      money*  
 ur-kan      purī,      mī      yāsā      upāsī      marna.      Āb      jā-kan  
*being-to-spare      was-filled,      I      this-like      by-hunger      die.      Now      having-gone*  
 dāū-kē      kahus,      "dāū,      dēw-kā      tōra      aprādh      fār      mē-nē      karē.  
*father-to      will-say,      "father,      God-of      of-thee      sin      much      me-by      was-done.*  
 Mī      tōra      lāwdā      hōy-kan      lēā-kā      dayā      nihē.      Tē      āpnā      majur  
*I      thy      son      having-become      taking-of      mercy      not.      Thou      own      servant*  
 sārkhā      bagā." "      Asē      vichār      kar-kan      āpnē      dāū-kē      attē  
*like      consider." "      So      consideration      made-having      own      father-of      near*  
 āla.      Wō      ātā-ch      dūr-sē      dāū-nē      dēkhē;      wō-kē      dayā      āil,  
*came.      He      coming      far-from      father-by      was-seen;      him-to      mercy      came,*  
 āpnē      lāwdā-kē      garē-mē      hāt      dāli,      wō-nē      mukā      lēi.  
*own      son-of      neck-on      hands      were-thrown,      him-by      kisses      were-taken.*

Lāwdā dāū-kē kahyālā, 'dāū, mē-nē dēw-kā tōra baḍā aprādh  
*Son father-to said, 'father, me-by God-of of-thee great sin*  
 karē. Ab tōra lāwdā āē-kē mōra dayā nahī.' Dāū-nē  
*was-made. Now thy son come-to my mercy not.' Father-by*  
 uttam pōshāk lāwdā-kē āng-pē, hāth-mē āngṭhī, pāw-mē panhī ḍārī.  
*best robe son-of body-on, hand-on ring, foot-on shoes were-put.*  
 Āpnē chākar-sē kahī, āndī kahyalā, 'āj āpan  
*Own servants-to having-said, also said, 'to-day we*  
 khāē-piē-kē chain karē; kāran āj mōra lāwdā  
*having-eaten-and-drunk merriment may-make; because to-day my son*  
 marēl, asē sanjat rahēl, wō āj parat āla; ib wō āj  
*died, thus thinking I-was, he to-day back came; and he to-day*  
 gēla, tē sāpadla.' Mhanūn sab ānand karē lagē.  
*went, he was-found.' Then all joy to-make began.*

Specimens have also been received from the Jaisalmir State, and two of them will be printed below. The first is a song sung by Bēldārs in the rainy season; the second a hymn which they recite in the early mornings and especially at the Hōlī festival. The Bēldārī of Jaisalmir is of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. Forms such as *māṇsā-chē*, of a man; *dēsā-chē*, of a country; *Rāmā-chē*, of God; *kuttā*, a dog, occur in other Jaisalmir specimens. The general nature of the Bēldārī of the State is, however, well illustrated by the two short specimens which follow.

[ No. 7.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMIR.

## SPECIMEN I.

Kālōrī kalhyān umattī, ālā mhi, bharlē nādē nāḍiyē bharlē  
*Black clouds overhanging, came rain, filled tanks small-tanks filled*  
 Bhīm talāw.  
*Bhīm tank.*

Sātā sēliā-chē jhūlrē gēli pāṇi talāw; sāt sahiā pūṭhi  
*Seven female-friends-of in-company went water tank; seven friends back*  
 bhartī gēli, hēkalrī rēli talāw.  
*having-filled went, alone remained (at-)the-tank.*

Pachchham dishā-sū ōṭhī ālā.  
*Western direction-from camel-rider came.*

‘Bījō sahiā rē kājal ṭibhiā, tudē kā bringē  
*Other to-friends O collyrium forehead-ornaments, thy why dirty*  
 bēsh ?  
*dress ?*

‘Bijā-jē sāhabē gharē basī, mājō basē pardēs.  
*Others-of husbands in-house dwell, mine dwells abroad.*  
 ‘Gharā patak-dē tālā-mā, ā māchi lārē.  
*Pots throw tank-in, come of-me with.*  
 ‘Bālā-jālā tudī jabān, māē nākhā sēmri lūn.  
*I-may-burn thy tongue, in-it I-may-put Sambhar salt.*  
 ‘Hak ōṭhī manā kahē, mārī sāsū-jī ō-lō, “ā-jā māchi  
*One camel-rider me-to said, my mother-in-law O, “come of-me*  
 lār.” ‘Kē sarikā phūṭrā, kē-chē unīār ?  
*with.” “What like beautiful, whose features ?*

‘Māchē dēwar sarikā phūṭrā, māchi nandal-chē unīār.  
*My brother-in-law like beautiful, my husband's-sister-of features.*  
 ‘Bālā-jālā tudī jibri, tudā parṇō-rā bhartār.  
*I-may-burn thy tongue, thy married husband.*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Dark clouds have been overhanging, and the rain has come. Tanks and reservoirs and also the Bhīm tank are filled.

A woman went with seven friends to fetch water from the tank. The seven friends returned home after having filled their pots, and she remained alone at the tank.

Meanwhile a man riding on a camel arrived from the west and said to her :—

‘The other girls have put collyrium in their eyes and ornaments on their foreheads. Why is your dress dirty ?’

(She replied—)

‘The other ones have got their husbands at home, but mine is abroad.’

(Then he said—)

‘Throw the water pot into the tank, and come along with me.’

(She replied—)

‘I shall burn your tongue and put Sambhar salt on it.’

(She then returned home and said to her mother-in-law—)

‘A camel *sōwār* said to me, O mother-in-law, “come along with me.”’

(The mother-in-law asked—)

‘How did he look and what were his features like ?’

(She replied—)

‘He had the beauty of my brother-in-law and the features of my husband’s sister.’

(On this the mother-in-law rebuked her and said—)

‘I shall burn your tongue, he was thy own husband.’

[ No. 8.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE JAISALMER.

## SPECIMEN II.

Har uth milti-kē Bharat bhāū, Har ālā  
*Hari having-arisen having-embraced Bharata brother, Hari came*  
 uth milti-kē.  
*having-arisen having-embraced.*

Bāh pasārti millē dun bhāū, nēnā-mā nīr ralakti  
*Arms having-extended embraced both brothers, eyes-in water rolling*  
 ālā.  
*came.*

‘Kē nī rē bhāū baṇ-khaṇḍa-chyā bātā, kēri kēri bipat  
*‘Says not O brother woods-of tales, what what mishap*  
 bhugattī ālā.’  
*having-suffered camest.’*

‘Ban phal khāēlā pān bichhāēlā, ēri ēri bipat  
*‘Forest fruits were-eaten leaves were-spread, such such mishap*  
 bhugattī ālā.’  
*having-suffered came.’*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Having arisen, Rāma came, embracing his brother Bharata. Rāma came, having arisen, and embraced him.

Having extended their arms both brothers embraced, and their eyes filled with tears.

(Bharata asked) : ‘Will you not relate, O brother, the tales of the forest ; what kind of troubles you had to undergo ?’

(Rāma said) : ‘The fruits of the forest I ate, and the leaves of the forest I used as bed. Such troubles have I endured.’

The Bēldārī of the Ramdurg State seems to be of a similar kind, though the Marāṭhī element is somewhat stronger. It will be sufficient to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration.



[ No. 9.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

BĒLDĀRĪ.

STATE RAMDURG.

Ēkē bā-nē dōn bēṭē hilall. Vē-chī nēnkē bēṭē-nē bā-nē  
*One father-to two sons were. Them-of younger son-by father-to*  
 kēlē, 'jingānī-ma mana bāṭnī da.' Dō-janī bēṭēyān bāṭnī  
*it-was-said, 'property-in me-to share give.' Two-persons sons-to shares*  
 kartī dili. Kai-ēk danāt nēnkā-nē saglī jindgī hilili  
*making were-given. Some days-in younger-one-by all property was*  
 gīti lambē mulkān gēlā. Uḍa jāti manān wāṭal jō-pār  
*having-taken far country-to went. There going mind-to appeared as-far*  
 dain kēli. Uḍa jāti kāl paḍlā. Vēn kharchan nahī,  
*wasting was-done. There going famine fell. Him-to to-spend was-not,*  
 mōṭ chintam paḍlā. Vē mulkā-mē ēkē māṇsān jāti vē māṇsāē  
*great anxiety fell. That country-in one man-to going that man-by*  
 yēn malkī gīti vē māṇsā-nē ḍukrē rākhṇē-nā mēllā. Vē  
*him appointing taking that man-by swine keeping-for was-sent. That*  
 baktān vēn ḍukar khānyā-chō jinnas-jōku dēkhun milal nahī.  
*time-at him-to swine eaten husks even was-got not.*

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## ĀDKĪ.

The Āds are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. In Kathiawar they are pond diggers; in the Panjab they take small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, and also build houses and dig tanks or wells. In Mathura they weave coarse cloth. In the South they cut out stones from the earth, convey them on their carts to where they are wanted, dig tanks and wells and so on. The number of Āds returned at the Census of 1911 was 610,162 distributed as follows:—

Madras . . . . .	550,109
Panjab . . . . .	32,246
United Provinces . . . . .	9,071
Rajputana Agency . . . . .	7,839
Elsewhere . . . . .	10,897
TOTAL . . . . .	610,162

The root meaning of the word *ād* is uncertain. In the South it takes the form *ādā*, and the Rev. F. Kittel compares Telugu *ādde*, drudgery, *āddevāṇḍlu*, tank diggers. As most Āds belong to the South, it is very probable that the word is originally Dravidian, and connected with the name of the Vāḍaras.

The majority of the Āds, or about 600,000, are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have not sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Āds. As a separate form of speech it has only been returned from Muzaffargarh in the Panjab, and from Cutch, Panch Mahals, Hyderabad and Thar and Parkar in the Bombay Presidency. The estimated number of speakers according to information collected for the purposes of this Survey was:—

Panjab . . . . .	514
Muzaffargarh . . . . .	514
Bombay Presidency . . . . .	2,300
Cutch . . . . .	250
Panch Mahals . . . . .	50
Hyderabad . . . . .	1,500
Thar and Parkar . . . . .	500
TOTAL . . . . .	2,814

Specimens of Ādkī have, however, also been forwarded from the Dhandhuka town in Ahmedabad District (in Bombay), and a list of words hailing from Shikarpur (in the Panjab), which will not be reproduced below, shows that the Āds of that district speak the same language as their namesakes farther south. If we except the Dravidian South it is therefore probable that Mr. Baines was right in stating<sup>1</sup> that 'the earth-workers called Od or Waddar carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated.' The Āds were probably from the

<sup>1</sup> Census of India, 1891. General Report. London, 1893, p. 137.

beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, we are not able to say when, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōḍs of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far as we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan. According to the returns at the Census of 1901,<sup>1</sup> their distribution in the Bombay Presidency was as follows :—

Ahmedabad . . . . .	1,266
Broach . . . . .	715
Kaira . . . . .	805
Panch Mahals . . . . .	461
Surat . . . . .	53
Cambay . . . . .	200
Cutch . . . . .	188
Kathiawar . . . . .	959
Mahikantha . . . . .	106
Palanpur . . . . .	491
Rewa Kantha . . . . .	385
Karachi . . . . .	201
Hyderabad . . . . .	1,549
Shikarpur . . . . .	1,338
Thar and Parkar . . . . .	1,449
Upper Sind Frontier . . . . .	127
Khairpur . . . . .	278
TOTAL . . . . .	10,571

It will be seen that the Ōḍs were practically restricted to districts where Gujarātī and Sindhī are the prevailing languages. The existence of a strong Marāṭhī element in Ōḍkī can only be explained under the supposition that these Ōḍs have come from some place farther east, say in the hills bordering the Marāṭhī area. Such a localisation would also agree with the fact that the Ōḍs of Southern India speak Telugu.

The specimens of Ōḍkī printed below, and the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 178ff. will give a good idea of the nature of the dialect. It will be seen that it is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of the Gipsy language of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features. The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ẽ* as in Marāṭhī; compare *talē*, tank; *kēlē*, it was said. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōrā*, horse; *ghōrē*, horses. Note also the oblique bases in *ō* of weak and *ē* of strong masculine bases, and in *ī* of feminine bases; thus, *dēsā-mā*, in a country; *lerkē-chē*, of a man; *malkatī-chā*, of the property. The termination *chā*, *chī*, *chē* of the genitive is important. The same is the case with the termination *lā* of the past tense of verbs; thus, *gēlā*, went; *mārlā*, struck. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āwā*, come; the infinitives in *ũ* and *ṇē*; thus, *kēhũ*, to say; *mārṇē*, to strike, and so forth. Such forms are found in all the specimens,

<sup>1</sup> No similar return is available for 1911.

and they gain in importance when we remember that they all hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

Several of the usual terminations in Ôḍkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvi; the ablative in *tī*; the locative in *mā*; forms such as *hē*, I (compare Gujarātī, Mālvi and Mārwarī *hū*); *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, is; the conjunctive participle is *tīnē* (Gujarātī *inē*) and so forth. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. The locative termination *māy*, which is prevalent in Mārwarī is, however, common in the Ahmedabad District, where Gujarātī is the chief language. Of such local borrowings I may mention the common cerebralisation of a *ḍ* in Cutch and in the districts of Hyderabad, Thar and Parkar, Shikarpur and Muzaffargarh; the Pañjābī dative termination *nū* in the same districts with the exception of Cutch, and other sporadic instances of borrowings from the local dialects. They will be easily ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable from the Panch Mahals. It represents a dialect which can be characterized as Gujarātī with a Marāṭhī substructure.

[ No. 10.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKĪ.

DISTRICT PANCH MAHALS.

Ēk guchī-nē dōn chhōyḍē salē. Nē dhāyḍē chhōyḍē bāp-nē  
*One man-to two sons were. And the-younger-by son-by father-to*  
 kēlē kē, 'bāpē, puñjiyā bhāg amō-nē dē.' Nē ōnē  
*it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And by-him*  
 puñji wahēchtī dēli. Nē thōḍēk dan pachhī dhāyḍā  
*property having-divided was-given. And few days after the-younger*  
 chhōyḍā badhē gētīnē dūr dēhā-mā gēlā nē paḍē  
*son all having-collected a-far country-into went and there*  
 raṅg-bhōg kartīnē pōtāchī puñji uḍaḍtī dēli.  
*pleasure-and-enjoyment having-made his-own property having-wasted was-given.*  
 Nē ōnē badhē kharachtī nākhlē tyār-pachhī ō dēhā-mē  
*And by-him all having-expended was-thrown then-after that country-in*  
 mōṭē dukāl paḍlā nē ōnē baḍī taṅksāl paḍwā lāgli. Nē ō  
*great famine fell and him-to great want to-fall began. And he*  
 jātīnē ō dēhā-chē wartanī-mā-chē ēkā-chē paḍē rēhlā.  
*having-gone that country-of inhabitants-in-of one-of near remained.*  
 Nē ōnē pōtā-chē khētrā-mē bhunḍōnē chārlē-sāru ōnē mōkaḷlā. Nē  
*And by-him his-own fields-in swine grazing-for him was-sent. And*  
 jō sīngā bhunḍā khātīgē ō-mā-thī pōtā-chē pēt bharlē-sāru ōnī  
*which husks swine were-eating that-in-from his-own belly filling-for his*  
 ichchhā salī. Nē kēṇī ōnē dēlē nahī. Nē ō sāwchit  
*wish was. And by-anyone him-to was-given not. And he in-sense*  
 halā tyārē ōnē kēlē kē, 'māchē bā-chē katnē majurō-nē  
*became then by-him it-was-said that, 'my father-of how-many servants-to*  
 pushkaḷ baḍā chhē; paṇ hē-tō bhakhē marē-chhē; hē-tō uṭtīnē  
*plenty bread is; but I-indeed hunger-by dying-am; I having-arisen*  
 māchē bā-chē paḍē jāī, nē ōnē kahī kē, "hē bā,  
*my father-of near will-go, and him-to will-say that, "O father,*  
 mē akāsā-mē nē tadhī āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā  
*by-me heaven-in and of-the before sin done is; and this-in your*  
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā; ma-nē tum-chē majurō-mā-chē ēkā-chē  
*son to-be-called fit I not-am; me your servants-in-of one-of*  
 jāsa gaṇ." Nē ō uṭtīnē pōtā-chē bā-chē paḍē gēlā. Nē ō  
*like count." And he having-arisen his-own father-of near went. And he*

tō ghaṇē dūr salā tyārē ō-chē bā-ē ōnē dēkhlā nē ō-nē  
*yet very far was then his father-by him-to was-seen and him-to*  
 diyā ālī. Nē ō dōḍtīnē ō-chī kōṭī waḷagti paḍlā, nē  
*compassion came. And he having-run his on-neck clinging fell, and*  
 ō-nē bachī karlī. Nē chhōyḍē-nē ō-nē kēlē kē, 'bā,  
*him-to kiss was-done. And the-son-by him-to it-was-said that, 'father,*  
 mē akāśā-mē nē tadhī āgaḷ pāp karlē chhē; nē hē-mē tam-chā  
*by-me heaven-in and of-thee before sin done is; and this-in your*  
 chhōyḍā kēlē lāg hē nī-thā.' Paṇ bā-ē pōtā-chē  
*son to-be-called fit I not-am.' But the-father-by his-own*  
 dāsā-nē kēlē kē, 'awaḷ ōyṇā gēti āwā nē  
*servants-to it-was-said that, 'good clothes having-taken come and*  
 ō-nē andhāwā, nē ō-chē hāthē vīṭī ghālā, nē pagā-mē  
*him-to put-on, and his on-hand a-ring put, and feet-on*  
 jōḍē andhāwā. Nē āpu khātīnē anand karjē;  
*shoes put. And we having-eaten merriment may-make;*  
 kāy-kē, ā mā-chā chhōyḍā martī gēlā, nē sō phartī jīvā  
*because, this my son having-died went, and he again alive*  
 halā chhē; nē gamāṭī gēlālā, nē ō jaḍlā chhē.' Nē ō  
*become is; and lost had-gone, and he found is.' And they*  
 anand karu lāglē.  
*merriment to-do began.*

Anē ō-chā mōtāch chhōyḍā khētrā-mē salā. Nē ō waḷtā  
*And his elder son fields-in was. And he returning*  
 gharā-chī pāhē pahōchlā tyārē ō-nē nāch nē raṅg hāmbharlā.  
*house-of near reached then him-by dancing and music was-heard.*  
 Nē ō-nē chākrā-mē-thī ēkī-nē balāwatīnē puchhlē kē, 'kāy  
*And him-by servants-in-from one-to having-called it-was-asked that, 'what*  
 hōya chhē?' Nē ō-nē chākrā-nē kēlē kē, 'tadhā  
*becoming is?' And him-to the-servant-by it-was-said that, 'thy*  
 bhāu ālā chhē. Nē tadhē bā-ē ēk baḍī jāfat karlī chhē,  
*brother come is. And thy father-by one grand feast made is,*  
 kāy-kē ō ōnē khēm-kuśal-thī puṭhā mallā chhē.' Paṇ ō-nē  
*because he him-to in-good-condition back joined is.' But him-to*  
 rīs chaḍlī nē māhī ālē-chī ō-chī khuṣī nā salī. Mātē  
*anger rose and inside going-of his willingness not was. Therefore*  
 ō-chē bā-ē bahār āwtīnē ō-nē samjāwlā. Paṇ ō-nē  
*his father-by out having-come him remonstrated-with. But him-by*  
 jāwāb dētā bāp-nē kēlē kē, 'dēkh atnē waras hē  
*reply while-giving father-to it-was-said that, 'see so-many years I*

tadhī	chākri	karē	chhē,	nē	tadhī	āgnā	mē	kadī
thy	service	doing	am,	and	thy	commandment	by-me	ever
ōḷaṅgli	na-thī,	tō-pan	mā-chē	mitrawā-sāthē	khuśī	karlē		
transgressed	not-was,	still	my	friends-with	pleasure	making		
wāstē	tē	ma-nē	bākrē	pan	kadī	dēlē	nī-thē.	Paṇ
for	by-thee	me-to	a-kid	even	ever	given	not-was.	But
ā	tadhā	chhōyḍā	ōṇī	tadhī	puñjī	kasabēṇō-che	hāthī	
this	thy	son	by-him	thy	property	harlots-of	with	
gamāti	nākhli	ōnā	āwtā	tē	ō-chī-sāru	awaḷ		
squandering	was-thrown-away	he	coming	by-thee	him-for	good		
jyāfat	karli.'	Nē	ōṇī	kēlē	kē,	' chhōyḍā,		
a-feast	was-done.'	And	by-him	it-was-said	that,	' son,		
tū	māchī-sāthē	nity	chhē ;	nē	māchē	saghlē	tadhē	
thou	me-of-with	always	art ;	and	my	all	thine	
chhē.	Āplē-tō	khuś	aṇē	nālje	tathā	harakh		
is.	Our-indeed	pleased	to-become	is-proper	and	merriment		
karnā	nālje.	Kāy-kē	ā	tadhā	bhāu	martī		
to-make	is-proper.	Because	this	thy	brother	having-died		
gēlālā,	nē	pharati	jīwtā	halā	chhē ;	nē	gamātī	
was-gone,	and	again	alive	become	is ;	and	lost	
gēlālā,	nē	ō	jaḍlā	chhē.'				
was-gone,	and	he	found	is.'				

The next specimen is a popular tale about Jāsmā who, according to the *Rās Mālā*,<sup>1</sup> came from Malwa with a number of Ōḍs in order to dig the Sahasraliṅg Lake at Patan for Siddh Rāj. The Rājā fell in love with her, but she declined his offer. When he pursued her, she committed suicide and cursed him. She is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

The specimen is of the same kind as the preceding one.

<sup>1</sup> Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, I. 111ff.

[ No. II.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ÖPKİ.

DISTRICT AHMEDABAD.

Sadrāō Jēsaṅgē Jāhmā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'ēk danā-māy talē  
*Siddhrāō Jaisiṅgh-by Jāsmā-to so it-was-said that, 'one day-in tank*  
 khaṭtinē pāṇiyā-thī rāt-kī-rāti-māy talē bhar-dē.' Jāhmāē asē kēlē  
*having-dug water-with one-night-in tank fill-give.' Jāsmā-by so it-was-said*  
 kē, 'tījē dan bhar dañ.' Pachhē Jāhmā Kūwārki pāhāṇ  
*that, 'on-third day fill will-give.' Afterwards Jāsmā Virgin near*  
 gēli, hāth jōḍtinē kargarli kē, 'bāi, hāy atnī kastī tū  
*went, hands having-joined besought that, 'lady, this so-great misery thou*  
 ma-nē khōwād.' Kūwārkiē kēlē kē, 'hī āvī, paṇ  
*me cause-to-loose.' Virgin-by it-was-said that, 'I shall-come, but*  
 puṭhē waltinē dēkhiō nahī.' Kūwārkiē dan ugtā talē  
*backwards having-turned please-look not.' Virgin-by day opening tank*  
 bhar dēlē. Pachhē Sadrāō Jāhmā pāhāṇ ālā nē Jāhmā  
*filling was-given. Afterwards Siddhrāō Jāsmā near came and to-Jāsmā*  
 bhēgā halā. Jāhmāē anū kēlē kē, 'tū tadhā māp-sar  
*joined became. Jāsmā-by thus it-was-said that, 'thou thy measure-following*  
 puṭhā wal.' Sadrāwē asē kēlē kē, 'hī tadhā kēdā mēlnār  
*back turn.' Siddhrāō-by thus it-was-said that, 'I thy way leaver*  
 nitā.' Tārē bāiē dhartī mātā-nē asē kēlē kē, 'hē  
*not-am.' Then the-woman-by Earth Mother-to thus it-was-said that, 'O*  
 mā, hī satī hōy, tō tū bhēgī maḷ jā.' Dhartī bhēgī  
*mother, I chaste am, then thou together joined go.' Earth together*  
 halī. Tō Sadrāō rād khēchū māḍlā. Pachhē Sadrāō bōllā  
*became. Then Siddhrāō cry to-raise began. Afterwards Siddhrāō said*  
 kē, 'tū māchhī bāṇ chhē.' Jāhmā bōlli kē, 'tadhā ganā māf  
*that, 'thou my sister is.' Jāsmā said that, 'thy sin forgiven*  
 chhē; paṇ tadhā wāsvēlā nai rē.' Pachhē Jāhmā  
*is; but thy offspring not remains.' Afterwards Jāsmā*  
 Khalikhōlwādē āwtinē badhē ōḍā-nē mallī. Pachhē ō  
*to-Khalikhōlcād having-come all Ōḍs-to was-joined. Afterwards that*  
 bāi huraj-nē hāth jōḍtinē asē bōlli kē, 'mē tō māchē  
*woman sun-to hands having-joined so said that, 'by-me for-my-part mine*  
 narvēdlē, paṇ māchī ṭachli āgalīē jētnē rūp kōi ōḍā-chī dhūvē-nē  
*is-done-with, but my last on-finger as-much beauty any Ōḍ-of girl-to*  
 nā dīō.  
*not give.'*



## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Siddhrāj Jaisingh said to Jāsmā, 'dig a tank in one day and fill it with water during the night.' She said that she would be able to do so on the third day. Then Jāsmā went to the Virgin River<sup>1</sup> and besought her with folded hands to free her from this great distress. The Virgin said, 'I shall come, but you must not look behind.' At daybreak the Virgin filled the tank. Then Siddhrāo came to Jāsmā and joined her. Jāsmā asked him to turn back, in accordance with his position, but Siddhrāo said that he would not desist from pursuing her. Then the woman said to Mother Earth, 'O mother, if I am a chaste woman, let me be united with you.' Then the Earth came close to her. Siddhrāo raised a cry and said, 'thou art my sister.' Jāsmā said, 'thy sin is forgiven, but thy progeny shall not remain.' Then Jāsmā went to Khalikholwad<sup>2</sup> and joined the Ōḍs. Afterwards she joined her hands and said to the Sun, 'I have done with life, but do not grant to any Ōḍ girl as much beauty as there is on my last finger.'

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According to specimens forwarded from the Cutch State the Ōḍs there use a form of speech of the same kind as that illustrated in the preceding pages. We may only note the frequent cerebralisation of a dental *d*; thus, *ḍēwā*, give; *ḍāḍī*, grandmother; *ḍī*, day.

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<sup>1</sup> A name of the river Sarasvatī, which is so called because its water is lost in the desert and does not join the Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> A village near Modhera, where Jāsmā's shrine is still worshipped by the Ōḍs.

[No. 12.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌDKĪ.

CUTCH STATE.

- ‘Āwā, bēsā, Rām-Rām. Tamē kathē-thī āwā sawā?’  
 ‘Come, sit, Rām-Rām. You where-from come are?’
- ‘Hē Chaprēṛī-tī āvē sē.’  
 ‘I Chaprēṛī-from coming am.’
- ‘Warsātī-mē tamī ghaṇē hērān halē sawā. Tamā sārū  
 ‘Rain-in you much troubled become are. You for  
 sigṛī karū? Thōṛī wār tāphā tō tamō-nē  
 fire shall-I-make? Little time you-will-warm-yourselfes then you-to  
 sukh havī. Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’  
 comfort will-be. You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’
- ‘Mācchē ī tṇē kāi khāwō naitē.’  
 ‘Me-of this time anything to-eat not-is(-wanted).’
- ‘Sāw kāi khālē vigar chālē? Thōṛē ghaṇē jū  
 ‘Entirely anything eaten without can-it-do? Little much what  
 bhāvē sū khāwā.’  
 may-please that eat.’
- ‘I-mā tō ma-nē tras lāgli sē. Pāṇī piwū  
 ‘This-in indeed me-to thirst joined is. Water to-drink  
 dēwā.’  
 give.’
- ‘Tam-chē lūgrē thōṛik wār tīṛkē sūkwū mēlē?’  
 ‘Your clothes a-little time in-the-sun to-dry may-I-put?’
- ‘Bhalē, mēlā.’  
 ‘Well, put.’
- ‘Tamā sārū kāi rasōi karāvē?’  
 ‘You for what meal may-I-cause-to-be-made?’
- ‘Mē tamā-nē kēlē sē kē bhūkh nāī lāgli.’  
 ‘By-me you-to said is that hunger not is-got.’
- ‘Thōṛik khichṛī nē bār khātī ghēwā.’  
 ‘Little khichṛī and bread eating take.’
- ‘Tam-chī marjī sē ta bhalē, karāwā.’  
 ‘You-of wish is then well, let-it-be-prepared.’
- ‘Tam-chē gharē badhē-y rāji-khusī sī?’  
 ‘Your in-house all happy-glad are?’

‘Badhē-y ṭhik sī, paṇ māchī dādī parmā  
*‘All well are, but my grandmother the-day-before-yesterday*  
 marti gēli.’  
*dying went.’*

‘Tē-nē kāi halēlē ?’

‘Her-to what had-happened ?’

‘Chār ḍi tāw ālā.’

‘Four days fever came.’

‘Tam-chē khētrā-mā mōl kisēk halē sī ?’

‘Your field-in crops how become are ?’

‘Ōṇ warsād jhājhā halā naitā, tē-thī jhājhē halē naitē.’  
*‘This-year rain much became not, that-from much became not.’*

‘Tā dhagā-chē kitrē nāṇē ḍilē ?’

‘These bullocks-of how-much money was-given ?’

‘Ma-nē sārē chār sō kōriā bēsliā.’

‘Me-to with-a-half four hundred kōris were-expended.’

‘Tē dhagē tamī vēchā ?’

‘These bullocks you will-sell ?’

‘Pūrē nāṇē ḍēwā tō vēchīnē.’

‘Enough money will-give then I-shall-sell.’

‘Tamā-nē hē tīn sō kōriā ḍiē.’

‘You-to I three hundred kōris may-give.’

‘Tīn sō kōriā-mā kāi vēchāy ?’

‘Three hundred kōris-in what can-they-be-sold ?’

‘Hē jāṇē sē kē dhagē mōṭē sī. Sū itri kīmat  
*‘I knowing am that bullocks old are. That so-much price*

ghaṇī sē.’

*much is.’*

‘Tam-chī dhūi-chā vīwā kiē mainē-mē karā ?’

‘Your daughter-of marriage which month-in will-you-do ?’

‘Māchī dādī-chī warsī wartī raigē tē wāsē  
*‘My grandmother’s anniversary over will-be that after*

karī ?’

*I-shall-do ?’*

‘Āj-chī rāt am-chē gharē nujtī rēwā.’

‘Today-of night our in-house sleeping remain.’

‘Nā, māchē sāji Dhraṅg pōchṇē sē.’

‘No, mine to-night Dharang coming is.’

‘Pachhē-warī kē ḍī am-chē gharē āwjā.’

‘Again some day our to-house come.’

‘Khāsē, Rām-Rām, i-mā hē jāī.’  
 ‘Well, Rām-Rām, now I will-go.’  
 ‘Tam-chē gharē badhā-nē Rām-Rām kējā.’  
 ‘Your in-house all-to Rām-Rām say.’

# FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

‘Come and take a seat. Welcome. Whence are you coming?’  
 ‘I am coming from Chapreri.’  
 ‘You must have been much troubled by the rain. Shall I make a fire for you? If you will warm yourself for a time, you will feel comfortable. What food may I order for you?’  
 ‘I do not now want any food.’  
 ‘It won’t do that you should not take any food. Take only as much as you like.’  
 ‘Just now I am thirsty. Give me water to drink.’  
 ‘Shall I put your clothes a little while in the sun to dry?’  
 ‘Yes, if you please.’  
 ‘What food shall I order to be prepared for you?’  
 ‘I have told you that I am not hungry.’  
 ‘Just take a little *khichrī* and bread.’  
 ‘If that be your wish, get it prepared.’  
 ‘Are all well in your house?’  
 ‘All are well, only my grandmother died the day before yesterday.’  
 ‘What was the matter with her?’  
 ‘She had fever for four days.’  
 ‘How are the crops in your field?’  
 ‘There was not much rain this year, and so I have not got much.’  
 ‘What did you pay for these bullocks?’  
 ‘I paid four hundred and fifty *kōris*.’  
 ‘Will you sell these bullocks?’  
 ‘I will if you give a good price.’  
 ‘I will pay three hundred *kōris*.’  
 ‘How can they be sold for three hundred *kōris*?’  
 ‘I think the bullocks are old, and so it is a good price.’  
 ‘In what month are you going to have your daughter married?’  
 ‘I shall do so after the ceremony of the first anniversary of my grandmother’s death is over.’  
 ‘Rest in our house to-night.’  
 ‘No, I have to reach Dharang by sunset.’  
 ‘Come to our house some other day.’  
 ‘Very well. Adieu. I am off now.’  
 ‘Give my compliments to all in your house.’

The dialect of the Ôḍs of Hyderabad and of Thar and Parkar is said to be identical. The same is the case in Shikarpur, and it will be sufficient to print a short specimen, the deposition of a villager in a case of assault, as illustrating the speech of the Ôḍs of all three districts. It will be seen that the influence of Sindhi, the prevailing language of the districts, is easily recognisable. Compare *rāti-jō*, of the night; *ghōr-karaṇu*, house-doing, hawking; *māṭjō*, my, and so on. The Pañjābī termination of the dative *nũ* has already been mentioned; compare *khurī-nũ*, to the heel. An unpublished Standard List of Words and Sentences contains forms of an *h* future, viz. *mārḥē*, I shall, thou wilt, he will, beat; plur. 1. *mārḥũ*, 2. *mārḥā*, 3. *mārḥē*. Similarly we find *tāphā*, you will warm yourself, in the specimen from the Cutch State printed above. These forms seem to be comparable with the Mārwarī future. In this connexion I may also note the Rājasthānī negative particle *kōnī*, not (lit. *kō-nī*, not at all); compare *kāhi ũē-nā kō-dinā-nī*, anybody him-to not gave; *kō-dēlā-nī*, didst not give.

[ No. 13.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌPKĪ.

DISTRICT HYDERABAD.

Mai sākhe pari kahē. Mājō nā chhē Hashū. Mājē bā-jā  
*I oath on state. My name is Hashū. My father-of*  
 nā Thadā. Mai Hindū-dharam chhē, luhānā chhē. Mājā pōrihiā  
*name Thadā. I Hindū am, lohānā am. My profession*  
 ghōr-karaṇu chhē. Mājī umuri chālisi baras chhē. Mai Haidrābādi  
*hawking is. My age forty years is. I Hyderabad*  
 gāū Haidrābādi taulkē Haidrābādi jillē bihilē. Mājā firyādu  
*town Hyderabad in-tālūqa Hyderabad in-district live. My complaint*  
 chhē Wasanmalā-par. Subhānē hēkē bajē rāti-jō  
*is Wasanmal-on. Yesterday one when-struck night-of*  
 tikānē-mā jāelā. Gharē bātē ūpari dōdī-haṭu chhilē.  
*abode(-of-a-faqīr)-in went. Home way on curds-seller-shop was.*  
 Ū-kaddhū dūdhu ghelē. Ūthē jawābudār ālā; ālē siri mājī  
*That-from curds were-taken. There accused came; come on my*  
 sāji khurī-nū ṭhudā mārā. Maī u-nū kahilē, 'kē-nū  
*right heel-to stumbling was-struck. By-me him-to it-was-said, 'why*  
 ādhā hulā-hē?' Jakā-māthē ma-nū lugāi āi dhū-pari galī  
*blind become-art?' This-after me-to wife and daughter-on abuses*  
 dīhiliā, thāshā olār-tē larnē-kū ālā. Maī darlā, nasti-patā  
*were-given, blow having-threatened fight-to came. I feared, far-off*  
 hulā. Hōtū Nārū Rijhū vichhū achhi-parlē. Tadhī jawābdāra  
*became. Hōtū Nārū Rijhā between came. Then accused-by*  
 basi-karlī; na-ta ma-nū mārē-hā. Jawābdārā-sū āgē  
*stop-was-made; otherwise me would-have-struck. Accused-with formerly*  
 mājī dushmanī kōnī.  
*my enmity not.*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I make the following statement upon my oath. My name is Hashū and my father's name is Thadā. I am a Hindū by religion, and I am a Lohānā. My profession is hawking. My age is forty years. I am a resident of Hyderabad town, Haiderabad *ta'lūqa*, Hyderabad District. My complaint is against Wasanmal. Last night at one o'clock I went to the abode of a faqir. On my way home I passed a curds-seller's shop, and there I bought some curds. There the accused came and stumbled against my right heel. 'Why,' said I, 'are you blind?' Then he began to pour out abuse against my wife and daughter, and after threatening to beat me he prepared to fight. I became afraid and stood far off. Hōtū, Nārū and Rījhū intervened, and then the accused desisted. Else he would have struck me. I never before had any enmity with accused.

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Specimens of Ōḍkī have also been received from Muzaffargarh, and a short popular tale from that district is printed below. It will be seen that in the main it agrees with the Ōḍkī illustrated in the preceding pages. The cerebralisation of *d* in *ḍō*, two, etc., and forms such as *mahā-kan*, from me, point in the direction of Sindhi. There are also some Pañjābī reminiscences such as *raṇḍē-nū*, to the wife; *bā-dā*, of a father. On the whole, however, the Ōḍkī of Muzaffargarh is of the same kind as in the Gujarātī districts,—a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī-Rājasthānī. The form *huttā*, was, which does not occur in other specimens, is comparable to Marāṭhī *hōtā*.

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[ No. 14.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

ŌPKĪ.

DISTRICT MUZAFFARGARH.

Hēk bādshāh huttā. Ō-chē gharē ōlād kāk na huttī. Ō  
*One King was. His in-house offspring any not was. He*  
 apnī bādshāhī chhōr-litī ō hēk rōz mārḡā ūpar nītī bēlā. Fakīr  
*own kingdom having-left he one day way on going sat. Faqīr*  
 jurtī-kē dhūā ghālītī bēlā. Hēk rōz jhūḡd fakīrā-chā ālā.  
*having-turned smoke making sat. One day group faqīrs-of came.*  
 Ō-nē kehlē, 'tū ēthē mārḡā-par kahā bēlā?' Bādshāh  
*That-by it-was-said, 'thou this way-on why sittest?' By-the-King*  
 kehlē, 'tamī mahā-kan kahī na pūchha.' Fakīrē  
*it-was-said, 'you me-from anything not ask.' The-faqīrs-by*  
 kehlē, 'amī pūchhū.' Bādshāh kehlē jō, 'māchē gharē  
*it-was-said, 'we ask.' By-the-King it-was-said that, 'my in-house*  
 ōlād kāk nahī?' Fakīrē kehlē, 'dō tapāsē chhit.  
*offspring any not-is?' The-faqīrs-by it-was-said, 'two sweets break.*  
 Hēk āp khā, hēk apnē raṇḡē-nū khullā. Vi-nū hēk pūt paidā  
*One self eat, one own wife-to cause-to-eat. Her-to one son borne*  
 hōwē; mātḡē-par chād hōwē, chīchī-par tārā hōwē.  
*will-be; forehead-on moon will-be, little-fingers-on star will-be.'*  
 Bādshāh-chē gharē pūt jālā. Ō-chē gharē dō raṇḡā hutā;  
*King-of in-house son was-borne. His in-house two wives were;*  
 jissē mōṭī huttī, vi-chē gharē pūt jamū-palā. Jissī dhārī raṇḡ  
*which elder was, her in-house son birth-got. Which younger wife*  
 huttī, vi-nē biṭhārī-nū kehlē, 'ē bār ḡūtī ḡē.'  
*was, her-by midwife-to it-was-said, 'this child killing give.'*  
 Biṭhārī chhāj kōlā-chē bhartī-kē vi-chē ḡōdhū mēhiltī ḡēlī. Bār  
*Midwife basket coal-of having-filled her-of near having-put went. Child*  
 chattī-kē rūrī-par nāk-tī ālī. Bādshāh-nū  
*having-carried manure-heap-on having-thrown returned. King-to*  
 kehlē, 'tudhyā raṇḡē kōlē jālē.' Kuttī bhillī  
*it-was-said, 'thy wife-by coals were-brought-forth.' Bitch standing*  
 bādshāh-chī huttī; bārā-nū chattī challī apnē bhāwarē-mē  
*king-of was; child having-carried went own pit-in*  
 nittī nāklē. Hēk dō sāl guzrē. Ū bār rū lāglē.  
*going was-thrown. One two years passed. That child to-cry began.*



Bādshāhzādī-nũ pattā lāglā. 'Ē bārā-nũ marātī nākhā.' Kuttī  
*Queen-to news was-got. 'This child killing throw.' Bitch*  
 bhilli sunlē. Bār-kũ chattī-kē khūnī ghōrē-chē āgũ āntī  
*standing heard. Child having-carried bloody horse-of before bringing*  
 nāklē. Ō jawān huttā. Bādshāh-nũ pattā lāglā. Ō  
*was-thrown. He youth became. King-to news was-got. He*  
 gharē gēti gallā, ghanē khushī karlē, waḍā dān-pun  
*in-house taking was-put, much • rejoicing was-made, great alms*  
 karlā.  
*were-made.*

### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a King. He had no offspring in his house. One day he left his kingdom and sat down at the roadside as a *faqīr* near a smouldering fire. One day a group of *faqīrs* came along and asked him why he was sitting there on the road. The King replied, 'do not ask me any question.' The *faqīrs* said they would ask. The King said that he had no offspring in his house. The *faqīrs* said, 'take two *tapāsās*. Eat one yourself and get your wife to eat the other. She will bring forth a son, with a moon on his forehead and a star on his little finger.' Subsequently a son was born in the palace. The King had two wives, and the son was born in the eldest wife's house. The second wife told the midwife to kill the child. The midwife brought a basket full of coal and put it near her. She then took the child and put it on a heap of manure. The King was told that his wife had given birth to coal. The King's bitch was standing there. She carried the child off and put it in her own pit. After the lapse of one or two years the younger queen was informed that the child had been heard to cry, and she again ordered it to be killed. The bitch heard this, took the child and entrusted it to a bloody horse. The child grew up and the King learnt about him. He brought him home, made great rejoicings and gave much alms.

## LĀDĪ.

The Lāḍs are a Gipsy tribe, who sell betel-leaf, areca-nuts, tobacco, *bhang*, etc. The number of Lāḍs returned at the last Census of 1911 was as follows :—

Bombay . . . . .	11,781
Central Provinces and Berar . . . . .	5,383
Baroda State . . . . .	8,500
Hyderabad State . . . . .	8,776
Elsewhere . . . . .	1,132
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>35,572</u>

It does not seem as if the Lāḍs generally have got a dialect of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Lāḍī was reported to be spoken by 500 individuals in the Ellichpur District of Berar. A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son has been forwarded as an illustration of this form of speech. The beginning of it, which follows, shows that the Lāḍī of Ellichpur is Eastern Rājasthānī, in most respects agreeing with Jaipurī.

[ No. 15.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

LĀDĪ.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Kōnī ēk mānus-ka dui pōrgā hōtā. U-kī mandhun lahān pōrgō.  
*Some one man-to two sons were. Them-of midst-from small son*  
 āplē bāp-kha kahyō, 'bāpā, jindgī-kō jō mārō wātō āwśī, wō  
*own father-to said, 'father, property-of which my share will-come, that*  
 dē.' Mag unē un-kha paisō hissō karī tākūyō. Mag  
*give.' Then by-him them-to money share having-made was-thrown. Then*  
 thōdē diwas-na lahān pōrgō saglō paisō jamā karī dūr dēs-ka  
*few days-in small son all money together having-made far country-to*  
 gayō; ānī āplē dhatpanā-na rahisan saglō paisō kharāb karī tākūyō.  
*went; and own impudence-in living all money spoilt doing was-wasted.*  
 Mag saglō paisō kharch karyā-war unē mulukh-mē kāl padyō. Unē  
*Then all money spent made-after that country-in famine fell. That*  
 mulē u-kha phār aḍchan pādī. Mag wō unē mulukh-mē ēk mānus-pās  
*for him-to much difficulty fell. Then he that country-in one man-near*  
 rahan-kō gayō; un u-kha dukar charāwan-kha wāwar-mē pathāyō. Mag  
*living-for went; by-him him swine feeding-for field-in was-sent. Then*  
 dukar jē phōtar khātō hōtō, u-kē-war u-kō pōt bharan-kha u-kha  
*swine which husks eating was, that-on his belly filling-for him-to*  
 wātūyō, mag u-kha kōnī kāhī diyō nahī. Mag hōs-mē  
*it-appeared, then him-to by-anybody anything was-given not. Then sense-in*  
 āyisan kahyō, 'mārē bāp-kha kītī naukar-kha pōt bharisan  
*having-come said, 'my father-to how-many servants-to belly having-filled*  
 rōṭī bhēṭa-chhē, ānī mī upāśī marū-chhē.'  
*bread being-got-is, and I hungering dying-am.'*

## SĀSĪ.

The Sāsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word *bhattū* (in the Panjab) or *bhātū* (Saharanpur) to denote themselves. I cannot suggest any etymology of this name, which is also used by other Gipsy tribes such as the Kōlhātīs. The common denomination Sāsī is replaced by the longer form Sāsīyā in the United Provinces. It has been variously derived from Sanskrit *śvāsa*, breathing, or from the base *sraṁs*, to fall, to get loose. The former explanation does not give much sense, the latter would perhaps convey the meaning of a fallen, degraded caste, and etymologically *sāsī* might well be derived from an old participle *sraṁsita*. Others derive the word from *śvagaṇika*, accompanied by a pack of hounds, hunter, or from *śvapāka*, who cooks dogs, out-caste, but these derivations are not possible phonetically. If we consider the fact that the Sāsīs often act as bards, it would also be possible to derive their name from a Sanskrit *śāṁsika* = *śāṁsin*, reciting.

Sāsīs are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat. The total number returned at the last Census of 1911 was 32,481, distributed as follows:—

Panjab . . . . .	26,990
Delhi Division . . . . .	3,357
Jullundur Division . . . . .	1,893
Lahore Division . . . . .	14,574
Rawalpindi Division . . . . .	2,090
Multan Division . . . . .	1,993
Native States . . . . .	3,083
Other Provinces . . . . .	5,491
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>32,481</u>

It is probable that many of these Sāsīs speak the language of their neighbours. Our information about the number of those who speak a separate dialect is very defective. This is partly due to the fact that there are in reality two different things which can be called the Sāsī dialect. In the first place we have a distinct vernacular, specimens of which have only been forwarded from the Panjab. In the second place there is a criminal argot characterised by certain methods of disguising ordinary words so as to make them unintelligible to the uninitiated. Such methods can be applied to words taken from any dialect. Moreover, the returns from the Census of 1911 do not distinguish between the different Gipsy dialects. They seem, however, to show that many Sāsīs have been returned as speaking other dialects. Thus the total number returned for Gipsy languages from the Panjab was only 5,640. The information collected for the purposes of this Survey, on the other hand, must in this case be used with considerable caution. It gives the

number of speakers in Ferozepur as 45,000, but only 360 Sāsīs were enumerated in the district at the Census of 1911. The details of this information are as follows:—

Panjab	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	48,170
Ferozepur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	45,000
Gurdaspur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,000
Gujrat	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,170
United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,380
Saharanpur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,000
Kheri	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	380
TOTAL												.	<u>51,550</u>

It will be seen that this total is considerably more than the number of Sāsīs enumerated in the whole of India in 1911.

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The Sāsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus the Sāsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sāsīs. Thus in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā*<sup>1</sup> or *kā* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thō*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. Dr. Grahame Bailey has shown that there are numerous cases of correspondence now with one, now with another Aryan dialect in the speech of the Sāsīs of the Northern Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī. Such correspondence in grammar cannot, however, prove more than that the Sāsīs have associated much with peoples speaking those tongues. It is quite certain that the stronghold of the tribe is the north of the Panjab, between the Sutlej and the Jhelum. Some phonetical features in Sāsī also point in that direction. Thus the old double consonants, which are so

<sup>1</sup> The postposition *gā* refers us rather to the Bāgrī dialect of Rājasthānī than to Hindōstānī. We may also compare *gai*, the postposition of the Dative in the Dardic Maigā. [G. A. G.]

common in the Prakrits, are treated differently in modern vernaculars. They are often retained and a preceding short vowel remains short in Pañjābī, while they are simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in Hindōstānī and most Eastern languages. Compare Prakrit *ekka*, one, Pañjābī *ikk*, but Hindōstānī *ēk*; Prakrit *piṭṭhī*, back, Pañjābī *piṭṭh*, but Hindōstānī *pīṭh*. The Sāsī of the Panjab here marches with Pañjābī; compare *ékki*, one; *nákk*, nose; *háth*, hand; *piṭṭh*, back. In the United Provinces we usually find forms with simplified compounds and long vowels. In Saharanpur, however, we find forms such as *miṭ*, back; *kanṭhā*, ear; *kuk*, eye, etc., which seem to show that the state of affairs is not quite the same as in Hindōstānī. The conditions in Sāsī do not therefore prove anything. More importance must be attached to the existence of a cerebral *l* and a cerebral *n* in Sāsī, for the use of those sounds is characteristic of western languages, such as Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, Rājasthānī and Pañjābī. Such cases of correspondence between Pañjābī and Sāsī are exactly what we would expect, considering where the stronghold of the Sāsīs is situated. The use of an oblique form ending in *ā* of weak nouns, on the other hand, seems to show that there is in Sāsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to the Panjab, but rather more to the south, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

We are comparatively well informed about the Sāsī dialect of the Northern Panjab, which has been dealt with by Dr. Grahame Bailey. The remarks which follow refer to it.

Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred. I have indicated this short pronunciation by means of the sign <sup>˘</sup>; thus, *bappā-gṽ*, to the father. A short vowel before an old double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long, but usually remains short if new syllables are added; thus, *ákkh*, eye; *kánn*, ear; *bápp*, father, but *bappā-gā*, of a father. I have marked this semi-length by adding an accent above the vowel. The same accent is used with the sign of lengthening in forms such as *āṭā*, coming; *chugāṇē*, to graze; *chātā*, wishing. In that case it denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. A similar lengthening of an *i* or *ū* occurs in forms such as *kīyyā*, done; *dīyyā*, given; *hūwā*, become, when the vowel is followed by a double *y* or *w*, respectively. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī. The principal point in which the two differ from Hindōstānī refers to aspirated letters in the beginning of syllables, the aspiration of such words being very guttural, almost like the Arabic *‘ain*. This rule applies to *h*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, *nh* and *mh*. Thus, *hūwā*, become, is almost *‘ūwā*; *ghōṛā*, horse, is almost *g‘ōṛā*, and so forth.

There are two genders, the masculine which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *i*, *ū*, and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *ā*, their case of the agent in *ē*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *ā*. The oblique plural ends in *ē*. Masculine nouns ending in *ā* change their *ā* to *ē* in the oblique case, to *ē* in the case of the agent, to *ē* in the

nominative plural and to *ē* in the oblique plural. The common case suffixes are,— dative *gũ*; ablative *thō*; and genitive *gā*, feminine *gī*, plural *gīā*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, are used instead in the specimens received from Gujrat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī. According to Dr. Bailey the nominative, genitive and the case of the agent of *bápp*, father; *kūtā*, dog; and *dhīā*, daughter, are as follows :—

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative . . .	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtā</i>	<i>dhīā</i>	<i>bápp</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīā</i>
Genitive . . .	<i>báppā-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīā-gā</i>	<i>báppē-gā</i>	<i>kūtē-gā</i>	<i>dhīē-gā</i>
Agent . . .	<i>báppē</i>	<i>kūtē</i>	<i>dhīē</i>	<i>báppē-ōṇō</i>	<i>kūtē-ōṇō</i>	<i>dhīē-ōṇō</i>

These are apparently the regular forms in the dialect of the Sāsis of the Northern Panjab. They are not, however, the only ones. Thus, a list of words received from the Gujrat District contains forms such as *waḍḍiā-dē pās*, to fathers, with the common Panjābī genitive suffix.

## Pronouns.

The following are the regular forms of the personal pronouns :—

	I.	We.	Thou.	You.
Nominative . . . .	<i>haũ</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>taũ</i>	<i>tam</i>
Agent . . . . .	<i>maĩ</i>	<i>hamō</i>	<i>tuĩ</i>	<i>tamō</i>
Dat.-Accusative . . . .	<i>manũ</i>	<i>ham-kō</i>	<i>tanũ</i>	<i>tum-kō</i>
Ablative . . . . .	<i>mēsthē</i>	<i>ham-thō</i>	<i>tēsthē</i>	<i>tam-thō</i>
Genitive . . . . .	<i>mērā</i>	<i>mā rā</i>	<i>tērā</i>	<i>tuhārā</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *ēā*, this, oblique base *in*, case of the agent singular *in*, plural *inō*; *uh*, *ōh*, that, oblique base *un*, case of the agent singular *un*, plural *unō*. There is also a pronoun *tiārgā*, the thing or subject under discussion, which is substituted for nouns in order to prevent a stranger from understanding what is meant.

The common verb substantive is *hōṇā*, to be. Its present participle is *hōtā*, being, and its conjunctive participle *hōikē*, having been. The present tense is formed as follows :—

## Verbs.

Singular	1. <i>haĩ</i> .	Plural	1. <i>hā</i> .
	2. <i>haĩ</i> .		2. <i>hō</i> .
	3. <i>hai</i> .		3. <i>haĩ</i> .

The past tense is singular masc. *thīyyā*, fem. *thīyyī*; plural masc. *thīyyē*, fem. *thīyyīā*: or *sīyyā*, fem. *sīyyī*; plural masc. *sīyyē*, fem. *sīyyīā*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

**Present Time.**—The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive; thus, *haũ mārē*, I may beat; *baṛē*, he may enter; *khāhā*, we may eat. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle; thus, *ham mārte hā*, we are beating, we beat. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārta hōta haĩ*, I am being beaten; *haũ mārta kartā haĩ*, I am doing beating; *haũ mārī rihā haĩ*, I having beaten have remained.

**Past Time.**—The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive; thus, *haũ gayā*, I went; *tam gaē*, you went. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent; thus, *hamō mārta*, by us beaten, we beat. Similarly also *maĩ mārta thīyyā* (or *sīyyā*), by me beaten was, I had beaten. Other forms of the past such as *haũ mārta thīyyā*, I was beating, are of course constructed actively.

**Future.**—The suffix of the future is *gṛā*, preceded by an *ni* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *mārṇā*, to beat, are :—

Singular	1. <i>māraṅṛā</i>	Plural	1. <i>māraṅṛē</i>
	2. <i>māraṅṛā</i>		2. <i>māragṛē</i>
	3. <i>māragṛā</i>		3. <i>māraṅṛē</i>

and *māraṅ*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

Similar forms are found in Maṇḍeālī, Sukēti and Bilaspūri. Compare Maṇḍeālī *māraṅ* or *mārgā*, I shall beat; Bilaspūri *māraṅṛā*, I shall beat.

**Imperative.**—The imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *mār*, beat; *mārō*, beat ye.

**Infinitive and Participles.**—The suffix of the infinitive is *ṇā*; thus, *mārṇā*, to beat. Compare Pañjābī *ṇā*, *nā*, Hindōstānī *nā*, Sindhi *ṇu*. The present participle ends in *tā* as in Hindōstānī; thus, *mārta*, beating. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī; thus, *mārta*, beaten; *kahiā*, said; though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gayā*, gone, also occur. The conjunctive participle ends in *ī*, *ī-kē*; thus, *jāī*, having gone; *mārī-kē*, having beaten. As in the suffix of the genitive the *k* is often softened to *g*; thus, *āī-gē*, having come; *dēhkī-gē*, having seen.

**Passive Voice.**—Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī; thus, *haũ mārta jattā haĩ*, I am beaten; *haũ mārta jattā thīyyā* (*sīyyā*), I was beaten; *haũ mārta jāṅṛā*, I shall be beaten.

The two specimens which follow illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs in Northern Panjab. I owe them to the kindness of Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.



[ No. 16.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

## SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Ékkī bandē-gē dō pūt thīyyē. Un bichchā nīkē  
*One man-of two sons were. Them among by-the-little*  
 bappā-gū kahiā, ‘bápp, mālkiyā-gā jihṛā hissa ma-nū  
*father-to it-was-said, ‘father, property-of whatever part me-to*  
 ātā hai, ma-nū dē.’ Un apnā sārā māl un-kō baṭi  
*coming is, me-to give.’ By-him own all property them-to dividing*  
 diyyā. Thōṛē dinē-gē pichhō nīkē mūṇḍē sārā kujjh  
*was-given. Few days-of after by-the-little boy all whatever*  
 katthā kiyyā tē dūrā-gē dēsā bichch jāi rihā. Ōṭhē  
*together was-made and distance-of country in going stayed. There*  
 sārā māl bhaiṛē kammē bichch urāi dīnā. Jad  
*all property evil works in causing-to-fly was-given. When*  
 sārā kharch karī līnā, us mulkhā bichch barā kāl paṛiā,  
*all spent making was-taken, that country in great famine fell,*  
 tē ōh saurā paṛnē laggā. Tad us mulkhā-gē ékkī ādmīā-gē  
*and he narrow to-fall began. Then that country-of one man-of*  
 pās jāi apriā. Un apniē paṛiē bichch sūr chugāṇē ghalliā,  
*near going arrived. By-him own fields in pigs to-graze was-sent,*  
 tē ōh chhillū jihṛiā sūr khattē thīyyē apnā pēt bharṇē-gū chātā  
*and he husks which pigs eating were own belly fill-to wishing*  
 thīyyā, par kōi nahī dētā thīyyā. Tad hōshā bichch āigē  
*was, but anyone not giving was. Then sense in having-come*  
 kahṇē laggā, ‘mērē bappā pās kinnē majūrē-gū bahut tūk  
*to-say began, ‘my father near how-many hired-labourers-to much food*  
 hai, tē haū bhūkhā martā haī. Haū uṭhigē apnē bappā pās  
*is, and I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own father near*  
 jānṛā tē us-kō kahṇṛā, “hē bápp, māi shamānā-gā tē tērā guṇāh  
*will-go and him-to will-say, “O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin*  
 kiyyā, iw is jōgā nahī ki bhī tērā pūt akhwāwē,  
*was-done, now this worthy not that again thy son may-call-myself,*

ma-nũ apnẽ majurẽ bichchā ékkī jidā banā.”” Tad uthigẽ  
*me-to own hired-labourers among one like make.”” Then having-arisen*  
 apnẽ bappā pās tūriā; tē ōh ajē dūr hī thīyyā ki us-kō  
*own father near went; and he yet far indeed was that him*  
 dēkhigẽ us-kē bappā-gũ tars āyā, tē daurīgẽ gal lāyā tē  
*having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-run neck pressed and*  
 barā chumiā. Pūtẽ us-kō kahiā ki, ‘hē bāpp, māi  
*much kissed. By-son him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me*  
 shamānā-gā tē tērā gunāh kiyyā tē iw haũ is jōgā nahĩ ki  
*heaven-of and thy sin was-done and now I this worthy not that*  
 bhī tērā pūt akhwāwẽ.’ Bappẽ apnẽ naukārẽ-gũ kahiā ki,  
*again thy son may-be-called.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that,*  
 ‘chāngiā thõ chāngī pushāk kaḍhī lē-āo tē is-kō lāo, tē  
*‘fine than fine raiment having-taken-out bring and him-to put-on, and*  
 is-kē haththā bichch chhāp tē pairẽ bichch jutti, tē palē hūwwẽ  
*him-of hand on ring and feet on shoes, and reared been*  
 wachchhẽ-gũ lē-āigẽ halāl karō, ki khāhā tē khushi  
*calf having-brought killed make, that we-may-eat and merry*  
 manāwā; kyũ, mērā ěā pūt marī gayā thīyyā, iw jīwiā  
*we-may-make; why, my this son having-died gone was, now come-to-life*  
 hai; gawān gayā thīyyā, iw labhī pariā.’ Tad ōh khushi karnẽ  
*is; lost gone was, now finding fell.’ Then they merry to-make*  
 laggẽ.  
 began.

Us-kā barā pūt paliā bichch thīyyā; jad gharā-gẽ nērẽ āyā,  
*Him-of big son field in was; when house-of in-vicinity came,*  
 gaunẽ tē nachnẽ-gā wāj suniā, tē ékkī naukārā thõ pūchhiā ki,  
*singing and dancing-of sound was-heard, and one servant from asked that,*  
 ‘ěā kyā hai?’ Un us-kō kahiā ki, ‘tērā bhāi āyā, tē  
*‘this what is?’ By-him him-to it-was-said that, ‘thy brother came, and*  
 tērẽ bappẽ paliā hūwwā wachchhā halāl kiyyā hūwwā hai, is  
*by-thy father reared been calf killed made been is, this*  
 wāstẽ ki rāzī-bāzī labbhā.’ Un gussẽ hōigẽ  
*on-account-of that safe-and-sound was-found.’ By-him angry having-become*  
 na chāhiā ki andar barẽ. Tad us-kē bappẽ bāhr  
*not was-wished that inside may-go. Then him-of by-father outside*  
 āigẽ us-kō manāyā. Un bappā-gũ jawāb dinā,  
*having-come him-to it-was-persuaded. By-him father-to answer was-given,*  
 ‘dēkh innẽ warhẽ-gi haũ tērī tahl kartā hai, tē kadhī tērẽ  
*‘lo so-many years-of I thy service doing am, and ever thy*

hukmā-gē barkhilāf nahī̃ tuṛiā, par taī̃ kadhī ékk lēlā wī nahī̃  
*order-of against not went, but by-thee ever one kid even not*  
 dinā ki haū̃ apṇē̃ yārē̃ sáthth khushī manāē̃; par jad tērā  
*was-given that I own friends with merry may-make; but when thy*  
 ěā pūt āyā jīṇ tērā māl kanjriē̃ bichch uḍāyā, taī̃  
*this son came by-whom thy property harlots in was-wasted, by-thee*  
 us-kē liyyē̃ paḷiā hūwā wachchhā halāl kīyyā.' Uṇ  
*him-of for-the-sake reared been calf killed was-made.' By-him*  
 us-kō kahiā, 'hē pūt, taū̃ sadā mērē pās baī̃; jō-kujjh mērā  
*him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always my near art; whatever mine*  
 bai, sōī tērā bai. Par khushī manāṇī tē khush hōṇā chāhītā  
*is, that-even thine is. But merry to-make and merry to-be wanted*  
 thiyyā; kyū̃, tēra ěā bhāī marī gayā thiyyā, iw jīwiā  
*was; why, thy this brother having-died gone was, now come-to-life*  
 hai; gawāṇ gayā thiyyā, iw labbhā hai.'  
*is; lost gone was, now found is.'*

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[ No. 17.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

## SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Batley.)

NORTHERN PANJAB.

Mhārē	dō	pīr	lagē	jattē	thīyyē ;	ékkī	gā
Our	two	saints	going-along	going	were ;	one	village
mañgnē	gaē ;	ékkī	kajjiā	pāsā	dúddh	mañgiā ;	uñ
to-beg	went ;	one	female-Jatt	from	milk	was-asked ;	by-her
nahī	dīnā ;	uh	ṭurī	gaē,	us-kā	dúddh	lahū
not	was-given ;	they	going	went,	her-of	milk	blood
geā.	Uñ	kajjiā	dēkhiā	ki	dúddh	lahū	hōi
went.	By-that	female-Jatt	was-seen	that	milk	blood	becoming
geā ;	uh	bhī	magar	daurī.	Uñō	kihā,	'jā
went ;	she	then	after	ran.	By-them	it-was-said,	'go
bachcha,	tērā	dúddh	usī	tarah	hōi	jāgrā.'	Uh
little-one,	thy	milk	that-very	way	becoming	will-go.'	She
gharē	āi	tē	dēkhiā,	tē	dúddh	usī	tarah
home	came	and	saw,	and	milk	that-very	way
geā	thīyyā.						becoming
gone	was.						
Uñī	dō	pīrē	ékk	karāmāt	kī ;	ékkī	
By-those-very	two	saints	one	miracle	was-done ;	by-one	
arkā	sáthth	dōph	putṭī,	bhī	us-kō	riddigē	khāyā,
elbow	with	iguana	was-dug-up,	then	it	having-cooked	was-eaten,
bhī	uñ	dūjjē-gō	kahiā	ki,	'maī	putṭī,	tañ
then	by-him	other-to	it-was-said	that,	'by-me	was-dug-up,	thou
is-kō	bhī	sarā-jit	kar.'	Bhī	uñ	haddiā	katṭhiā
it	again	alive	make.'	Then	by-him	bones	together
tē	hāthth	phērige	kahnē	laggā,	'jā	bachcha,	daurī
and	hand	having-waved	to-say	began,	'go	little-one,	running
jā ;	bhī	uh	daurī	gaī	tē	sarā-jit	hōi
go ;	then	it	running	went	and	alive	becoming
uñ	dōē	pīrē-gē	nā	Bhalād	Bhagat	tē	Malañg
those	two	saints-of	names	Bhalād	Bhagat	and	Malañg
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malañgā-gā	māmā	thīyyā.			
Bhalād	Bhagat	Malañg-of	mother's-brother	was.			

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Two of our saints were going along. They went to a village to beg and asked a female Jatt for milk, but she did not give it. When they went away, her milk was transformed into blood. Seeing that the milk had been changed to blood, the Jatt woman ran after them. They said to her, 'go home, little one, thy milk will be as before.' When she came home and saw it, then the milk had become as it used to be.

Those two saints did a miracle. One of them dug up an iguana with his elbow, cooked it, and ate it. Then he said to the other one, 'I have dug it up, and now thou restore it to life.' Then he put the bones together, waved his hand and said, 'go, little one, run away.' Then it ran away and became alive again. The names of those two saints were Bhalād Bhagat and Malaṅg, and Bhalād Bhagat was Malaṅg's maternal uncle.

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The dialect spoken by the Sāsīs of the United Provinces is not so well known. Specimens have been received from Saharanpur and Kheri. They seem to show that the Sāsīs speak the same language as their neighbours. They are much less numerous than in the Panjab, and conditions are not favourable for preserving a strange dialect. It will be sufficient to give a short specimen, received from Kheri, as an illustration of the speech of the Sāsīs, or Sāsiyās, as they are here called, of the United Provinces. It is practically Hindōstānī. It is, of course, likely enough that other Sāsiyās speak a dialect more closely related to that illustrated in the preceding pages.

[No. 18.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSIYĀ.

ORDINARY DIALECT.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Jānē-mē	katyā	bachyā	pārē	thē.	Das	rupiā
<i>Winter-in</i>	<i>cows</i>	<i>calves</i>	<i>tending</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Ten</i>	<i>rupees</i>
chapwārē-nē	māgē	thē.	Ham-par	nikrē	nāhī.	Ham-kō
<i>sub-inspector-by</i>	<i>demanded</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Us-on</i>	<i>were-found</i>	<i>not.</i>	<i>Us</i>
pakar-kar	Mirat	pahōchā	diyē.	Wahā	kaid	
<i>having-seized</i>	<i>Meerut</i>	<i>having-caused-to-reach</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>There</i>	<i>imprisoned</i>	
kar	diyē.	Barī	hō	gaē.	Phir	Sūrtāpur-kō
<i>making</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>Acquitted</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>Sultanpur-to</i>
bhēj	diyē.	Sūrtāpur-mē	chār	baras	rahē.	Sūrtāpur-mē
<i>sending</i>	<i>were-given.</i>	<i>Sultanpur-in</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>years</i>	<i>remained.</i>	<i>Sultanpur-in</i>
muñj	aur	rāmbans	kuṭṭi	thē.	Ham-nē	munṣi-sē yeh
<i>muñja</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>aloe-fibres</i>	<i>hammering</i>	<i>were.</i>	<i>Us-by</i>	<i>Munshi-to this</i>
kahā	ki,	‘ham-kō	ēk	arjī,	yahā-sē	likh dō
<i>was-said</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘us-to</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>petition,</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>writing give</i>
ki	ham	yā-sē	aur	jagah	basāē	jāē.’ Lārat-nē
<i>that</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>here-from</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>settled</i>	<i>may-go.’ Lord-by</i>
yeh	hukum	diyā	ki,	‘yā-sē	nikar-kē	baṇ-mē
<i>this</i>	<i>order</i>	<i>was-given</i>	<i>that,</i>	<i>‘here-from</i>	<i>having-gone-out</i>	<i>forest-in</i>
basāē	jāē.’	Ham	baṇ-mē	āē	aur	baṇ-sē ēk
<i>settled</i>	<i>may-go.’</i>	<i>We</i>	<i>forest-in</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>forest-from one</i>
mahīnē-kī	chhuṭṭi	lē-kar	apnē	bēṭē-ko	miḷnē-ko	gaē.
<i>month-of</i>	<i>leave</i>	<i>having-taken</i>	<i>own</i>	<i>son-to</i>	<i>meeting-for</i>	<i>went.</i>

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In the winter I had been tending cattle. The sub-inspector demanded ten rupees from me, and as I had not got them I was seized and sent to Meerut, where I was put in prison. Afterwards I was released and sent to Sultanpur, where I remained for four years, beating *muñja* and *Rām* reeds (for basket work). I said to the Munshi, ‘I have a petition. Write that I may be settled in some other place.’ The lord gave order that I might go thence and be settled in the jungle. I came to the jungle, and there I took one month’s leave and went to see my son.

The specimens printed above illustrate the ordinary dialect of the Sāsīs, especially that spoken in Northern Panjab. As we have seen it mainly agrees with Pañjābī in phonology, while its inflexional forms are intermediate between that language and Hindōstānī ; some of the case suffixes being identical with those used in the latter form of speech. I have already mentioned that this partial agreement with Hindōstānī can very well be a consequence of the migratory life of the Sāsīs. At present most of them live in Government Reservations and in circumstances which are not favourable for the preservation of the purity of their dialect.

Criminal Sāsī.

Formerly their condition was different. In the words of Abdul Ghafur, 'they are professional thieves and very brave.' In order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, they have, like other criminal tribes, in addition to their real dialect, devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian.

This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. Moreover, it is not known to all Sāsīs, young children being unacquainted with it. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained. Dr. Bailey has published a long list of them. Many of them are well-known Aryan words. Others such as *kūkar*, cock, are onomatopœic. Several are based on some metaphor, as is often the case in European argots. Compare *gōlī*, poison used for putting into the food of cultivators' cattle, *lit.* pill ; *charāwā*, advocate, *lit.* herdsman ; *khurā*, lower part of leg, *lit.* hoof. Some words are also apparently borrowed from other languages ; thus, *bārmī*, woman, wife, might be compared with Sherpa *permi* ; *nād*, village, with Kanarese *nāḍu*, country, Gōṇḍī *nār*, village ; *lallī*, night, with Arabic *laila*. The greatest portion of the vocabulary of Criminal Sāsī, however, consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways.

The letters of a word are often transposed. Thus we find *kābrā* instead of *bakrā*, goat ; *khūm* perhaps instead of *mukh*, face ; *chōmī* instead of *mōchī*, shoemaker ; *chhāmī* instead of *māchhī*, a certain water-carrying caste ; *ṭēp* instead of *pēt*, belly ; *ṭiph* instead of *piṭṭh*, back ; *bakat* instead of *batak*, duck, and so on.

The most common device of disguising words is, however, to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus the ordinary Sāsī word for 'ten' is *das*. By adding *kha* in front we get *khadas* and finally *khas*, both of which are used in Criminal Sāsī. Similarly we find *bāl*, *khābāl* and *chhābāl*, hair ; *pair*, *khapair*, *chhapair* and *nhair*, foot, and so forth. The usual additions of this kind which occur in the materials at my disposal are as follows :—

*k* added before vowels. With a following *a* it becomes *ku*, *kó*, with a following *ā* *kō* ; thus, *kukkhī*, Pañjābī *akkhī*, eye ; *kókkh*, Pañjābī *akkh*, eye ; *kundar* and *andar*, inside ; *kuggē*, Pañjābī *aggē*, in front of ; *kōṭṭā* and *āṭā*, flour ; *kōṭh* = *āṭh*, eight ; *kōdmī* = *ādmī*, man ; *kōnnā* = *ānā*, anna.

*kh* is also sometimes added before vowels ; thus, *khassī* = *assī*, eighty ; *khūpar* = *āpar*, above. More commonly, however, we find the syllable *kha* added before words

beginning with consonants ; thus, *khatin*, three ; *khadand*, tooth ; *khadas*, ten ; *khanāk*, nose ; *khanaũ*, nine ; *khapair*, foot ; *khamai*, by me ; *kharājū*, Pañjābī *rājī*, pleased. The additional syllable *kha* then often supersedes the initial syllable of the word ; thus, *khuntā*, an iron and wood instrument for digging, cf. Hindōstānī *gaintū* ; *khas*=*das*, ten ; *khaũ*=*nau*, nine ; *khákk*=*nákk*, nose ; *khigalṇā*=*nikalnā*, to come out ; *khīs*=*bīs*, twenty ; *khũh*=*mũh*, mouth ; *khikhṇā*=*likhnā*, to write ; *khōth*=*hāth*, hand.

*g* is apparently used in a similar way, though I have not found more than one certain instance, viz. *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier.

*ch* only occurs as a substitute for *b* ; thus, *chatāṇā*=*batānā*, to show ; *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. It is, however, possible that it can be used instead of other labials. Thus, *chaṭ*, water, may be for *pānī* ; compare Kōlhaṭī *chēnī*. In Western Pahlāṛī, however, we find a similar word *chīs*, water.

*chh* is quite common ; thus, *chhakān*=*kānn*, ear ; *chhapair*=*pair*, foot ; *chhabārmī*=*bārmī*, woman ; *chhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father ; *chhabhautā* and *bhautā*, brother ; *chhabhaiṇ* and *bhāṇ*, sister. This *chh* often replaces the initial consonant ; thus, *chhútt*, *chhapútt* and *pútt*, son ; *chhauht*=*bahut*, much ; *chhattū*=*bhattū*, a Sāsī man ; *chhāhar*=*bāhar*, outside ; *chhalak*=*balak*, tomorrow ; *chhūhā*=*būhā*, door ; *chhaiṛā*=*waiṛā*, calf. In all these instances the original word begins with a labial, and Dr. Bailey restricts the change to such words as begin with *b*, and that is no doubt usually the case. In the materials received from Gurdaspur and Sialkot, however, we also find forms such as *chhakānn*, ear ; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin ; *chhaghar*, house ; *chhaurat*, woman ; *chhakaun*, who ? *chhakyā*, what ? *chhagadhā*, ass, and so forth.

*j* and *jh* are used in the same way as *ch* and *chh* ; thus, *jadā*=*barā*, big ; *jhūkhā* and *chhūkhā*=*bhūkhā*, hungry.

*ḍh* is comparatively frequent ; thus, *ḍhagal*=*gal*, neck ; *ḍhanērē*=*nērē*, near ; *ḍhabāṇ*=*bāṇ*, sister ; *ḍhabāptā*=*bāptā*, father ; *ḍhamulk*=*mulk*, country. In *ḍhāmā*, village, *ḍh* seems to have superseded an old *g*. *D* in *ḍimṇā*=*jimnā*, to eat, is used in a similar way.

*n* is a common substitute for various sounds ; thus, *nālī*=*chālī*, forty ; *nōrī*=*chōrī*, theft ; *niṛiyā*=*chiriyā*, bird ; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy ; *nikat*=*ṭikat*, ticket ; *nōmbū*=*ṭōmbū*, a house-breaking instrument ; *naukhṇā*=*dēkhṇā*, see ; *nañj*=*pañj*, five ; *naṛhnā*=*paṛhnā*, read ; *nūchhṇā*=*pūchhṇā*, ask ; *nair*=*pair*, foot ; *nāgg*=*pāgg*, turban ; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly ; *nōhal*=*bōhal*, heap of grain ; *nāllī*=*lāllī*, night ; *nadhūk*=*ṣandūq*, box ; *nāhb*=*sāhb*, ṣāhib ; *naihr*=*shahr*, city ; *nūraj* or *nhūraj*=*sūraj*, sun ; *nāth*=*sāth*, with.

*nh* is often substituted for aspirated letters and for *s* ; thus, *nhē*=*chhē*, six ; *nhōḍṇā*=*chhōḍṇā*, leave ; *nhōllē*=*chhōllē*, gram ; *nhik*=*ṭhik*, right ; *nhāṇā*=*thānā*, police station ; *nhālī*=*thālī*, brass vessel ; *nhittā*=*phittā*, abuse ; *nhat*=*sat*, seven ; *nhir*=*sir*, head ; *nhikṇā*=*sikhṇā*, learn ; *nhīs*=*sīs*, head, and so forth.

*p* does not seem to be much used in this way. I have found it in *pōdnā*=*chōdnā*, to have sexual intercourse with, and perhaps in *pīngī*, fire ; *pīrl*, oil, etc.



*b* is often prefixed to words beginning with vowels, thus, *bēā*=*ēā*, this; *biw*=*iw*, now; *bōtthē*=*ōtthē*, there; *baur*=*aur*, and; *bēk*=*ēk*, one. Before consonants we find *ba*; thus, *bagōllē*, gram; *balūā*, rupee. In *barlāthī*, stick, we have a double prefix *bar*. In other cases *b* replaces an initial consonant; thus, *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bāḍi*=*chāḍi*, silver; *bēndrā*=*jandrā*, lock; *bīwar*=*jhiūr*, water-carrier; *bēṇḍhā*=*saṇḍhā*, male buffalo; *banh*=*sanh*, house-breaking; *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *bunyārā*=*sunyārā*, goldsmith; *bindū*, Hindu, etc.

*r* and *rh*, finally, are often substituted for *k*, *kh*, respectively; thus, *rāthī*=*kāthī*, saddle; *rēṭnā*=*kāṭnā*, cut; *rāl*=*kāl*, famine; *ruñjī*=*kuñjī*, key; *rudāh* or *rhadhāi*=*khudā*, God; *rhaphā*=*khafā*, angry; *rhijmat*=*khidmat*, service; *rhēt*=*khēt*, field; *rhāt*=*khāt*, bed, and so forth.

It will be seen from the examples quoted that one and the same word often occurs in many variously disguised forms. Thus we find *khapair*, *chhapair*, *nair* and *pair*, foot; *chhabāptā*, *ḍhabāptā* and *bāptā*, father; *bagōllē*, *nhōllē* and *chhōllē*, gram, and so on. There is not, so far as we can see, any principle according to which one or the other form is chosen. The use of different letters in order to make a word unrecognizable is, so far as can be ascertained, absolutely arbitrary, and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them.

Another way of disguising words is by adding consonants after them. Such additions are :—

*k* in *chulkṇā*, to speak; cf. *chōlī*=*bōlī*, speech. A *kh* has apparently been inserted in the middle of a word in *mikhltā*=*miltā*, is being met with.

*g* is common after *r* in several pronominal forms; thus, *mērgā*, my; *tērgā*, thy; *kēhrgā*, which. It is further added after verbs such as *kauhṇā*=*kahnā*, tell; *rauhṇā*=*rahnā*, remain; *gaugṇā*, to go; *gaugā*, went, cf. *gayā*, went. It also occurs in several stray instances such as *kadgī*, ever; *kōggī*, *kōī*, anyone; *chaug*=*chār*, four; *duhāṅgī*=*duhāī*, appeal; *hukamgā-kō*, the command, and so forth.

*th* is added in *naūthā*=*nā*, name; *dūrthā*=*dūr*, far; *naīthī*=*nāī*, barber.

*t* occurs in forms such as *bāptā*, father; *bhautā*, brother; *mautī*, mother; and a double addition *dhrē* is used in *jaūdhre*=*jaū*, barley.

*p* is added after vocalic bases; thus, *dēpnā*, to give; *lēpnā*, to take; *hōpnā*, to become. Similarly *nāhpī*, not. The use of an added *b* is more doubtful. I have noted *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; and in *chhūbrā*=*chhagrā*, goat, *b* seems to have superseded *g* in the middle of a word.

*r* is added in words such as *dhōr*, two; *thēr*, three. In *jasrna*, go; *asrna*, come, *sr* has been added after the base.

More sporadic interchange of consonants can be observed in forms such as *kumbhlā*=*kumhār*, potter; cf. *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy; *gaunā*=*gādhā*, ass, etc.

Abbreviated forms also occur; such are *kōndh*, the dark half of a month; *khōṇā*=*khōlnā*, to open; *pāgg*=*pāgrī*, turban.

The preceding examples will have shown that also the vowels are occasionally changed. Thus, *a* and *ā* become *u*, *o* and *ō*, respectively, when a *k* is prefixed; compare *kuggē*, before; *kōdmī*, man. When a *g* is added *a* and *ā* often become *au*; thus, *kauhṇā*, to tell; *gaugā*, went; *chaug*, four. Compare also *bhautā*, brother;

*mautī*, mother. In other instances an *a*-sound is changed to *ē*; thus, *chēṅguā*=*chaṅgā*, good; *bēṇḍhā*=*saṇḍhā*, male buffalo; *lēgbā*=*lagā*, began; *rēkhwaṇā*=*rakhṇā*, place; *rēṭṇā*=*kāṭṇā*, cut. *I* and *u* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *bīṇḍī*=*bundā*, eardrop; *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, soldier; *kharājū*=*rājī*, pleased. An *ē* or *ai* may be changed to *u* or *au*; thus, *khuntā*=*gaintā*, pickaxe; *naukhṇā*=*dēkhṇā*, see; *ō* is occasionally replaced by *au* or *eō*; thus, *baunā*=*sōnā*, gold; *neōklā*=*chhōkrā*, boy. Other instances of interchange are *baleā*=*billā*, cat; *leōkrī*=*lakṛī*, wood; *gāddar*=*gīdar*, jackal, and so forth. All such changes are apparently quite arbitrary. Note also double changes in words such as *khadēpaṅgrā*=*dēṅgrā*, will give; *khanīṭṭh*=*piṭṭh*, back; *chulknā*=*bōlnā*, to speak; *chhangāh*=*gunāh*, sin; *ḍhamkīr*=Kashmir; *ḍhumalmān*=Musalmān; *thūb*=*ūṭh*, camel, and so forth.

None of these changes affects the grammar of the dialect. The inflexional forms remain the same. The individual words alone are changed. Thus many of the pronouns appear in a new shape; compare *khamāi* and *maī*, by me; *khamērā*, *khamērgā*, *mērgā* and *mērā*, my, and so on. The present tense of the verb substantive is *hōpē*, *hōpē*, *hōpē*, and so forth, or *hōpē* throughout; "I went" is *gauhgā* or *jasriā* and so forth.

It follows from what has already been said that the Criminal Sāsī is not a separate dialect, and that the individual words have no fixed forms. Ordinary words are of course used to a great extent, and the degree in which they are disguised, and the manner of disguising, differ. The specimens which follow will give a good idea of this argot. The first two have been placed at my disposal by Dr. Grahame Bailey, the chief authority on Sāsī. The third has been received from Gurdaspur. The Standard List of Words and Sentences in ordinary and criminal Sāsī, for which I am likewise indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey, will be found on pp. 178ff.

[No. 19.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

## SPECIMEN I.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Békkī kōdmīā-gē dhōr bōrē thīyyē. Bun bichehā khikē  
*One man-of two boys were. Them among by-the-little*  
 bāptē-gū kauhgiā ki, 'hē bāptē, dhamālā-gā jihrgā khissa mērgā  
*father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of what share mine*  
 asrta hōpē, manū dēpi nōd.' Bun bun-kō khapnā nhārgā  
*coming is, me-to giving leave.' By-him them-to own all*  
 dhamāl khabaṭi nodiā. Nhōrē khrōjē nichhē khikē bōrē nhārgā  
*property dividing was-left. Few days after by-little boy all*  
 māl natthā kūligē khadūr dhamulkā bichch jasrigē rauhgiā,  
*property together having-made distant country in having-gone stayed,*  
 tē bōthē nhārgē naisē nhairē nammē bichch khalāi nodiā.  
*and there all pice evil works in expending left.*  
 Jad nhārgā nharch kūli linā, bus dhamulkā bichch jadā  
*When all spent doing was-taken, that country in great*  
 dhakāl ṭawiā. Bōh chhauht naurā ṭawiā. Tad bus dhamulkā-gē  
*famine fell. He very narrow fell. Then that country-of*  
 békkī kōdmīā-gē nās gaugā, bun bus-kō khapnē nailiē bichch ṭundē  
*one man-of near went, by-him him own fields in pigs*  
 nhugānē ghēlwiā, tē bus-kī kharjī thī bun ṭāphlē-gū jihrgē  
*to-graze he-was-sent, and him-of wish was those fodders which*  
 ṭundē dīmtē thīyyē khapnā nēt nharē; bus-kō kōi nahī dēptā  
*pigs eating were own belly may-fill; him-to anyone not giving*  
 thīyyā. Bhī nōshā bichch asrigē kauhgnē laggā, 'mērgē  
*was. Then sense in having-come to-say began, 'my*  
 bāptē-gē nās jadē khajūrē-gū chhauht ṭimī hōpē, tē haū  
*father-of near many hired-labourers-to much food is, and I*  
 chhūkhā lugtā hōpē. Haū khapnē bāptē nās jasraṅgrā tē  
*hungry dying am. I own father near will-go and*  
 kauhgaṅgrā ki, "hē bāptē, māi namānā-gā tē tērgā jadā nasūr  
*will-say that, "O father, by-me heaven-of and thy great sin*

kūliā hōpē, biwkē haũ bis khajōgā nahĩ hōpē ki kōdmī manũ tērgā  
*done is, now I this worthy not am that men me thy*  
 bōrā kauhgē; dhamanũ khajūrē jidā rēkhwi nōd.”” Bhī  
*boy may-say; me hired-labourers like placing leave.”” Then*  
 buthigē khapnē bāptē nās gaugā, tē bōh khajē khadūr thīyyā,  
*having-arisen own father near went, and he yet far was,*  
 ki bus-kō naukhigē bus-kē bāptē-gū dhrāhm asriā, tē binkigē  
*that him having-seen him-of father-to compassion came, and having-run*  
 bus-kō dhagal layā tē chhauht khachumiā. Bōrē bus-kō  
*him-to neck was-pressed and much it-was-kissed. By-boy him-to*  
 kauhgiā ki, ‘hē bāptē, maĩ dhamānā-gā tē tērgā nasūr  
*it-was-said that, ‘O father, by-me heaven-of and thy sin*  
 kūliā, biwkē bis khajōgā nahĩ hōpē ki bhī tērgā bōrā  
*was-made, now this worthy not am that again thy boy*  
 rauhgē.’ Bāptē khapnē khaukarē-gū kauhgiā ki, ‘nhārē  
*may-remain.’ By-father own servants-to it-was-said that, ‘all*  
 satthā chēnguē rīchrē lē-asrō tē bis-kō dhalāō, tē bis-kā khōthā-gū  
*than fine clothes bring and this-of put-on, and this-of hand-to*  
 nhāp tē nhairē-gū paunī, tē tōmē kāngalā-gū lē-asrigē balāl  
*ring and feet-to shoes, and fat calf having-brought killed*  
 kūlō, ki dīmā tē nushī kūlā. Mērgā bēā bōrā  
*make, that we-may-eat and merry may-make. My this boy*  
 lugī gaugā thīyyā, biwkē khajīwi ṭawīā; gawān gaugā thīyyā,  
*having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone was,*  
 biw khalabhī ṭawīā.’ Bhī bōh nushī kūlnē laggē.  
*now having-found fell.’ Then they merry to-make began.*

Buskā jadā bōrā naiīā bichch thīyyā. Jad khaulē asriā,  
*Him-of, big boy field in was. When house-to came,*  
 dhagaunē tē khanachnē-gā khawāj nhunīā. Tad bēkkī  
*singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one*  
 khanaukarā-gū chulāigē nūchhiā ki, ‘bēā kyā hōpē?’ Bun  
*servant-to having-called it-was-asked that, ‘this what is?’ By-him*  
 bus-kō kauhgiā, ‘tērgā bhautā asriā hōpē, tērgē bāptē tōmā  
*him-to it-was-said, ‘thy brother come is, by-thy by-father fat*  
 kāngal balāl kūliā, khis nāstē ki bōh chēnguā  
*calf killed was-made, this on-account-of that ‘he well*  
 khalabhī ṭawīā.’ Bōh kharinj hōpiā tē bus-kī kharjī kundar  
*having-found fell.’ He angry became and him-of wish inside*  
 jasrē-gī nahĩ thī. Bhī bus-kā bāptā chhār asrigē bus-kō  
*going-of not was. Then him-of father outside having-come him*

kharājū kūḷṇē laggā. Buṇ bāptē-gū khwāb dēpiā, 'naukhī  
*pleased to-make began. By-him father-to answer was-given, 'seeing*  
 lēp, khitnē narsē-gī tērgī khatahl kultā hōpē, tē kadhi tērgā khākhā  
*take, so-many years-of thy service doing am, and ever thy saying*  
 nahī nōriā; tē taī kadhi bēk chhābrī nahī dēpi, ki  
*not was-broken; and by-thee ever one goat not was-given, that*  
 khapnē 'khōstē nāthth nushī kūḷē; jad tērgā bēā bōrā asriā  
*own friends with merry may-make; when thy this boy came*  
 jin tērgā dhamāl bēnjriē bichch lāyā, taī bus-kē  
*by-whom thy property harlots among was-spent, by-thee him-of*  
 liyyē tōmā kāngal balāl kūliā.' Buṇ bus-kō kauhgiā,  
*for-the-sake fat calf killed was-made.' By-him him-to it-was-said,*  
 'taū nadā mērgē nās hōpē; jihrgā mērgā hōpē, tērgā hōpē. Par  
*'thou always my side art; what mine is, thine is. But*  
 naujā kūḷṇā tē nush hōpnā chāhītā thīyyā; kyū, tērgā bēā  
*merriments to-make and happy to-be proper was; why, thy this*  
 bhautā iugi gaugā thīyyā, biwkē jiwī ṭawiā; gawāṇ gaugā  
*brother having-died gone was, now living fell; lost gone*  
 hīyyā, biwkē khalabhī ṭawiā.'  
*was, now finding fell.'*

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[ No. 20.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSI.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

## SPECIMEN II.

(Dr. T. Grahame Bailey.)

Mhārgē dhōr pīr nurē jasartē thīyyē. Békkī nádd  
*Our two saints going-along going were. One village*  
 chhēngnē gaugē. Békkī khētīā nāsā khadúddh chhēngiā.  
*to-beg went. One female-Jatt from milk was-asked.*  
 Buṇ nahī dēpiā. Buh nurī gaugē, bus-kā khadúddh  
*By-her not was-given. They going-away went, her-of milk*  
 khalahū hōpī gaugā. Buṇ khētīā nōkhiā bhai khadúddh  
*blood becoming went. By-that female-Jatt it-was-seen that milk*  
 khalahū hōpī gaugā, buh bhi nīchhē bīṇkī. Buṇḍ kauhgiā,  
*blood becoming went, she then after ran. By-them it-was-said,*  
 'bōrī, jasar, tērgā khadúddh busī narah hōpī jasragrā.' Buh khaulē  
*'girl, go, thy milk that-very way becoming will-go.' She home*  
 asarī tē nōkhiā, tē khadúddh busī narah hōpī gaugā thīyyā.  
*went and it-was-seen, and milk that-very way becoming gone was.*  
 Buṇī dhōr pīrē ōṇḍ békk karāmāt kūlī. Békkī  
*Those-very two by-saints by-them one miracle was-done. By-one*  
 arkā náthth dōph nuttī. Bhī bus-kō khriddigē  
*elbow with iguana was-dug-up. Then it having-cooked*  
 dīmiā. Bhī buṇ nūsrē-gō kauhgiā bhai, 'maī nuttī,  
*it-was-eaten. Then by-him other-to it-was-said that, 'by-me was-dug-up,*  
 taū bis-kō bhi narājīt kūl.' Bhī buṇ kōḍḍiā naṭhthiā  
*thou this again alive make.' Then by-him bones together*  
 kūlīā, tē kōthth nhērigē kauhgnē laggā, 'jasar khabachcha,  
*were-made, and hand having-waved to-say began, 'go little-one,*  
 bīṇkī jasar.' Bhī buh bīṇkī gaugī tē narājīt hōpī  
*running go.' Then it running went and alive becoming*  
 gaugī. Tē buṇ dhōrē pīrē-gē naūthē Bhalād Bhagat tē  
*went. And those two saints-of names Bhalād Bhagat and*  
 Malang thīyyē, tē Bhalād Bhagat Malangā-gā ḍhamāmā thīyyā.<sup>1</sup>  
*Malang were, and Bhalād Bhagat Malang-of mother's-brother was.*

<sup>1</sup> For a free translation of this specimen, see above, p. 58.

[ No. 21.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SĀSĪ.

CRIMINAL VARIATION.

## SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

Bēki mānkhē-tē dhōr chhabōhrē thē. Khikē-nē bappā-thiā  
*One man-to two sons were. Younger-by father-to*  
 kaugiā pai, ' ē bappā, jō mērgiā dhagliā asartā hai chhaīdvī  
*it-was-said that, ' O father, which my share coming is dividing*  
 dē.' Jō kuchh thiā chhaīdvī dīnā. Thōrī dīhā pichhūā  
*give.' What ever was dividing was-given. Few days after*  
 khikē chhabōhrē-nē nabh kuchh lēpī-kē dūr dhamulkhā-kō  
*younger son-by all whatever having-taken distant country-to*  
 chilpiā gōgā. Bōthī jasrī jāi raugiā ; jērā dhamāl  
*walked went. There having-gone having-gone stayed ; what property*  
 thiā, bō bōthī dīmī līnā. Jad nabh kuchh rharch kūlī  
*was, that there eating was-taken. When all whatever spent making*  
 dēpiā, bus dhamulkhā wicheh chhaut rāl tauī gaugā, hōr  
*was-given, that country in great famine falling went, and*  
 chhūkhā lūgnē lēgbā, ta bēki rārū khaulē jasrī raugiā.  
*hungry to-die began, and one citizen in-house having-gone stayed.*  
 Bus-kō tūdhē nageō-nē nhējīā. Bus-kā biyāhī matbal thiā paī  
*Him-to swine to-graze it-was-sent. Him-of this desire was that*  
 ' jō nhikkar tūdhē dīmī-tē bōi nhikkar dīmī-kē nhēt nhar  
*' which husks swine eat those husks having-eaten belly fill*  
 lēpūgā,' paī bus-kō kōi dēptā nāhī thiā. Nhēr bus-nū nhurt  
*may-take,' because him-to anyone giving not was. Then him-to sense*  
 asrī gaugī baur kaugnē lēbgā ki, ' mērgē bappā-kē khabauht khīti  
*coming went and to-say began that, ' my father-of much bread*  
 mikhlī thi, haū chhūkhā lūgtā haī. Haū kūthī-kē āpnē  
*being-got was, I hungry dying am. I having-arisen own*  
 bāptē-kē nhās jasrūgā baur bus-kō kaugūgrā paī, ' ē bāptē, māī  
*father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, ' O father, by-me*  
 tērgā baur rhadhāi-kā ehhangāh kūliā, baur bīs khalāiki-kā nāhpī  
*thy and God-of sin was-done, and this worthiness-of not*

ki mungō tērgā chhabōhrā mānkhe kaugā. Mungō kuāpnē rāmā  
*that me thy son men may-call. Me own servants*  
 khawichcha bēk khamjūr chhanēwī lepp.” Ib kuāpnē bappā  
*among one hired-labourer engaging take.” Then own father*  
 nhās khaturī chilpiā. Ōh ajē dūrthē thiā, khabappā-kō khadēkhī-kē  
*near walking went. He yet far-off was, father-to having-seen*  
 kharaihm asriā, baur duṛkhī-kē chhaglā-kē nhāth lēwī lēpiā baur  
*compassion came, and having-run neck-of with applying took and*  
 khachummiā. Bōhrē-nē bus-kō kaugiā, ‘rē bāp, māi tērgā  
*kissed. Son-by him-to it-was-said, ‘O father, by-me thy*  
 ar rhadhāi-kā dhagnāh kūliā. Is khalāikī-kā khanāhī khaabhi  
*and God-of sin was-done. This worthiness-of not now*  
 tērgā bōhrā dhamannū kaugē.’ Dhabappē kuāpnē khanaukrē-kō  
*thy son me they-may-call.’ By-the-father own servants-to*  
 kaugiā paī, ‘koachchhi dahniā lēpi asar baur bis-kē dāwō,  
*it-was-said that, ‘good clothes taking come and this-on put-round,*  
 baur khōthā wichch nhāp chaugaī kharākāi dāwī dēpō, baur ham  
*and hand on ring on-feet shoes putting give, and we*  
 khadimīē ar rhusi kūlā, paī khamērā chhabōhrā lūgi  
*eating and merry let-make, that my son having-died*  
 gaugiā, khajīwī ṭawīā; guāchgī gaugā siā, khabib libhwī ṭawīā.’ Bib  
*went, alive fell; lost gone was, now found fell.’ Now*  
 bōh rhusi kūlnē lēgbē.  
*they merry to-make began.*

Jadā chhabōhrā rhētā wichch thiā. Jad khaulē nhās asriā  
*Big boy field in was. When house near came*  
 roāchnē-kī khanāchnē-kī dhawāj nhunī Khatad khanaukrā-kō  
*singing-of dancing-of sound was-heard. Then servants-to*  
 chalēwī-kē nūchhiā, ‘bia chhiā hōpi raugiā?’ Bus-nē  
*having-called it-was-asked, ‘this what becoming is?’ Him-by*  
 kaugiā, ‘tērgā bhātā asriā, baur tērgē bappā-nē khīṭi dhamaī paī  
*it-was-said, ‘thy brother came, and thy father-by feast was-given that*  
 kharājū-khabājū mikhlī ṭawīā.’ Bus-nē rhapā hōpi-kē khanāhī  
*safe-and-sound being-met fell.’ Him-by angry becoming not*  
 khachāhiā paī, ‘kūndar jusrā.’ Bus-kē bappā-nē chhāhar asrikē  
*wished that, ‘inside I-may-go.’ His father-by outside having-come*  
 bus-kō chhamanāyā. Bus-nē bappā-kō khajawāb dēpi dinā,  
*him-to was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer having-given was-given,*  
 ‘khaḍekh, bitnē nhālē tērgi rhiimat kūltā ribā, baur khatērgi  
*‘see, so-many years thy service doing remain, and thy*



hukamgā-kō kadgī khanāhī makhōriā. Pur khataī radī bēk  
*order ever not was-transgressed. But by-thee ever one*  
 chhēbriā-kā chhāunā khanāhī dēpiā ki āpnē khadōstā nhāth rhusī  
*she-goat-of kid not was-given that own friends with merry*  
 kūlā. Baur jad khatērā biā chhabōhrā asriā khajis-nē khatērā  
*may-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy*  
 khamāl dhāchniā khawichch khadēwiā, khataī bus-kē khawāstē khitī  
*property harlots among was-wasted, by-thee him-of for-the-sake feast*  
 kūli.' Bus-nē kaugiā, ' bē chhabōhrē, khataū mērgē nhās  
*was-made.' Him-by it-was-said, ' O son, thou my near*  
 nhadhāi hōpaī, baur jō khamērgā hai, sō tērgā-i hai. Par  
*always art, and what mine is, that thine-also is. But*  
 nhusī kūlnī khachāhiti hōpai, khakyū, ēh tērgā bhāutā luggī  
*merry to-make proper is, why, this thy brother having-died*  
 gaugā, khajīwī ṭawīā ; dhaguāchi gaugā, baur lēbhwi ṭawīā.'  
*went, alive fell ; lost went, and being-found fell.'*

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## KÖLHĀṬĪ.

The Kōlhāṭīs are a tribe of rope dancers and tumblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They are said<sup>1</sup> to take their name from Name. *kōlhāt*, the bamboo on which they perform. The corresponding Kanarese form of the name, however, is *kollatiga*, which is a compound of *kol-kōl*, a stick, a rod, and *aṭiga*, a player. In the Bombay Presidency they are also called Dōmbārī or Dōmbhārī, which word must have something to do with Dōm, the name of another Gipsy tribe. According to Mr. Balfour they call themselves Bhatū; compare *bhattū*, the name used by Sāsīs to indicate a man of their tribe.

In the Bombay Presidency the Kōlhāṭīs are also makers of the small buffalo horn pulleys which are used with cart ropes in fastening loads. Occupation. They also make hide combs and gunpowder flasks. When a girl comes of age, she is called to choose between marriage and prostitution. If, with her parents' consent, she wishes to lead a married life, she is well taken care of and carefully watched. If she chooses to be a tumbler and a prostitute, she is taken before the caste council, a feast is given, and with the consent of the council she is declared a prostitute. The prostitutes are not allowed to eat with other Kōlhāṭīs, except with their own children. Still, when they grow old, their caste-fellows support them.<sup>2</sup> According to Major Gunthorpe,<sup>3</sup> the Kōlhāṭīs of the Dekhan 'belong to the great Sānsya family of robbers and claim their descent from Mallanūr, the brother of Sānsmal. There are two tribes, Dukar Kōlhāṭīs and Kam or Pāl Kōlhāṭīs. The former are a non-wandering criminal tribe, whereas the latter are a non-wandering criminal class. Depraved in morals, the males of both tribes subsist to a great extent on the prostitution of some of their females, though let it be said to the credit of the former that they are not so bad as the latter. They labour for themselves by cultivating land, by taking service as village watchmen, or by hiring themselves to villages to destroy that pest of Indian farmers, the wild dog, and above all they are professional robbers. Kam Kōlhāṭīs, on the other hand, are a lazy, good-for-nothing class of men who, beyond making a few combs and shuttles of bone, will set their hands to no class of labour, but subsist mainly by the immoral pursuits of their women.'

At the last Census of 1911 Kōlhāṭīs were returned only from the Hyderabad State where they were said to be 1,143 in number. The returns of the Census of 1901 were much fuller, and were as follows:—

## Bombay Presidency—

Bombay Town	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	123
Thana	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	76
Ahmednagar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	588
Khandesh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Nasik	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	383
Poona	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	384
Satara	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	334
Sholapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	187
Carried over	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,510

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii, 123ff.<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx, 18f<sup>3</sup> *Criminal Tribes*, p. 46ff

Bombay Presidency—*contd.*

Brought forward . . . . .	2,510	
Akalkot . . . . .	85	
Bhor . . . . .	7	
Satara Agency . . . . .	19	
Belgaum . . . . .	409	
Bijapur . . . . .	148	
Dharwar . . . . .	380	
Kanara . . . . .	15	
Kolaba . . . . .	306	
Ratnagiri . . . . .	2	
Kolhapur . . . . .	270	
Southern Maratha Country . . . . .	473	
Sawantwadi . . . . .	57	
<b>TOTAL BOMBAY PRESIDENCY</b> . . . . .		<b>4,681</b>
<b>Berar—</b>		
Amraoti . . . . .	88	
Akola . . . . .	638	
Ellichpur . . . . .	164	
Buldana . . . . .	281	
Wun . . . . .	97	
Basim . . . . .	57	
<b>TOTAL BERAR</b> . . . . .		<b>1,325</b>
<b>Hyderabad—</b>		
Gulbargah . . . . .	1,649	
Naldurg . . . . .	3,022	
Hyderabad . . . . .	67	
Nander . . . . .	88	
Sirpur Tandur . . . . .	491	
Parbhani . . . . .	75	
Bhir . . . . .	229	
Aurangabad . . . . .	385	
Indur . . . . .	1	
<b>TOTAL HYDERABAD</b> . . . . .		<b>6,007</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> . . . . .		<b>12,013</b>

Specimens of a dialect called Kōlhāṭī have been forwarded from Berar and also from the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. They all agree in so many particulars that we are justified in talking of a Kōlhāṭī dialect, and there is no reason for supposing that the Kōlhāṭīs of the Bombay Presidency use a different form of speech. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Kōlhāṭī was returned from the following districts :—

## Bombay Presidency—

Abmednagar . . . . .	700	
Poona . . . . .	350	
Satara . . . . .	150	
	<b>1,200</b>	<b>1,200</b>
<b>Berar—</b>		
Amraoti . . . . .	127	
Akola . . . . .	640	
Ellichpur . . . . .	200	
Buldana . . . . .	150	
	<b>1,117</b>	<b>1,117</b>



[ No. 22.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KŌLHĀṬĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT ELLICHPUR.

Yakkī mankhā-ku dō chhōrē huvē. Dōnō-mē-kā nhannā bappā-ku  
*One man-to two sons were. Both-in-of younger father-to*  
 balyā, 'bappa, jē jingī-kā baṭṭā hai, sē mērē-ku dē.' Majē  
*said, 'father, which property-of share is, that me-to give.' Then*  
 un-nē jingī baṭṭī di. Majē thōḍē dinā-sē nhannā  
*him-by property dividing was-given. Then few days-after younger*  
 chhōrā sagal gōlā karī mulkhā-war gayā. Aplē jingī  
*son all together having-made country-to went. Own property*  
 mastiyē-sī uḍāi dīi, kharsī sarī gai. Us mulkhā-mē  
*debauchery-in wasting was-given, spent all went. That country-in*  
 baḍā kāl paḍyā, u-saṭṭī us-ku aḍchan paḍī. Us waktā-kō us  
*big famine fell, that-for him-to distress fell. That time-at that*  
 mulkā-sī yakkī mankhā thānē jāi rahyā; unē āpnē  
*country-of one man near having-gone stayed; him-by own*  
 khētā-mē taṇḍē charāwnē bhējī diyā. Ō tāṇḍē kōṇḍā  
*fields-in pigs to-tend having-sent he-was-given. Those swine husks*  
 khātē thiyē, ō khāi pēt bharnō aisā us-ku  
*eating were, those having-eaten belly should-be-filled thus him-to*  
 bāṭyā; us-ku kinē kāi diyā naī. Majē ō  
*it-appeared; him-to by-anyone anything was-given not. Then he*  
 sudī-mē āisanē balyā, 'mērē bappā-kē gharā-ku mankhā-ku ruṭṭī pēt  
*sense-in having-come said, 'my father-of house-at men-to bread belly*  
 bharī mīṭī; mī bhukkā martā. Mī uṭṭhī mērē bappā-kōnē  
*filling is-got; I starving die. I having-arisen my father-near*  
 jānēga, us-ku ballēgā, "ē bappā, bindē-kē irud an tērē  
*will-go, him-to will-say, "O father, heaven-of against and of-thee*  
 āga mi-nī pāp karyā. Abthunā-sī mī tērā bēṭā kaynē-kē lāik  
*before me-by sin was-done. Now-from I thy son saying-of worthy*  
 naī. Aplē chākriyē-kē gaḍiyē-wānī mērē-ku rakkha." Majē utyā,  
*not. Own service-of labourer-like me keep." Then arose,*  
 uṭṭī bappā-kunē gayā.  
*having-arisen father-near went.*

The few Kōlhāṭīs of Chanda use a similar form of speech. The usual past tense of verbs, however, more closely agrees with Hindōstānī; compare *bōlā*, said; *lagā*, began. Other details will be ascertained from the version of a well-known tale which follows.

[No. 23.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KOLHATI.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHANDA.

Ēkka ādmiya-ku dō nhanē laḍkē thiya, ēk chhōrā an ēk chhōrī.  
*One man-to two small children were, one boy and one girl.*  
 Chhōrā thiya, wō muwā-mē baḍā bānglā thiya, chhōrī aisi-ch thiya.  
*Boy was, he face-in very handsome was, girl common was.*  
 Ēkka din wō dō-jhanē chhōrē ainē-kē najik khēltē thiya. Chhōrā  
*One day those two-people children glass-of near playing were. Boy*  
 chhōriya-ku bōltā, 'aya, yē ainē-mē dikka bhalā nikkī kōn disti  
*girl-to says, 'O, this glass-in see well good who is-appearing*  
 kī.' Chhōriya-ku wō nikkā nahī lagā. Us-kō samjhā  
*what.' Girl-to that good not appeared. Her-to it-was-thought*  
 kī is-nē yē āplyā-ku hināwnē-ku bōlā. Pichhē unē  
*that this-by this herself lowering-for was-said. Afterwards her-by*  
 bappā-kē najik bhayya-kē gārhanē bōllē. Wō bōlī, 'bappā,  
*father-of near brother-of complaints were-said. She said, 'father,*  
 kōynē-mē khum dikhī khushī pānā, yē bāykā-kā kām; us-mē  
*glass-in face seeing satisfaction to-get, this women-of work; that-in*  
 ādmiya-nē man ghālnā nahī.' Bappā-ne, dō-jhanē-kō pētā-sī pākāḍī  
*man-by mind to-be-put not.' Father-by both breast-to clasping*  
 us-kō khushī kiyā. Wō bōlā, 'chhōrēnō, tum laḍhu na-kō.  
*her-to satisfaction was-made. He said, 'children, you fight not-should.*  
 Ajā-sī tum dō-jhanē-bhī dinā-ma ainē-mē dēkhtē jā.  
*To-day-from you both-even day-in glass-in seeing go.'*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A man had two small children, a son and a daughter. The boy was very good looking, the girl was of indifferent beauty. One day the two children were playing near the looking-glass. The boy said to the girl, 'come, let us look in the glass to see who is the prettiest.' This did not please the girl. She thought that he did it in order to humiliate her. Then she went to her father and complained of the boy. She said, 'to derive pleasure from looking at one's face in a glass is the business of women; a man should not put his mind on such things.' The father clasped both to his bosom, satisfied her and said, 'children, don't quarrel. I should like both of you to look into the glass every day.'

The word *kōynē-mē*, in the glass, in the Chanda specimen, where a *k* has been added in front of the word *ainē-mē*, reminds us of various methods

Argot.

of disguising words in Criminal Sāsī and similar argots.

The specimens received from Akola show that the Kōlhāṭis know the use of an artificial language of the same kind. There are in the first place some peculiar words such as *kājjī*, woman; *khōggā*, house; *khūm*, mouth, face; *chēnī*, water; *ṭummī*, head; *ṭaunā*, fall; *ṭhāy*, beat; *ṭiwā*, rupee; *ṭhōknā*, sit; *dutta*, eat; *dhēḍ*, a Mahār (lit. a huge, burly, person); *bhatānī*, wife; *hēṭṭī*, women, and so on. Common words are moreover disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭā*=*bēṭā*, child; *kōkkha*=*ākḥ*, eye; *kōdmī*=*ādmī*, man; *kōhōt*=*hāth*, hand; *khūt*=*ūṭh*, camel; *khanākka*=*nāk*, nose; *khanajik*=*najik*, near; *khūmbar*=*umar*, age; *khōran*=*haran*, deer, and so forth. It should be noted that after *k*, *kh*, an *a*-sound is often replaced by an *o*-sound, just as is the case in Sāsī.

As in Sāsī and similar argots a palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍā*=*baḍā*, big; *chhut*=*bhūt*, devil; *(ka)jēṭā*=*bēṭā*, boy; *jōhōt*=*bahut*, much.

*ṭh* and *ḍh* are prefixed in words such as *ṭhamāl*, property; *ṭhamarnā*, to die; *ḍhōkkal*, a dog.

Of dentals we find *th* in *thēr*, three, and *dh* in *dhōr*, two. Moreover *n* is a common substitute; thus, *nān*=*chāḍ*, moon; *nyār*=*chār*, four; *nōr*=*chōr*, thief; *nāt*=*jāt*, caste; *nīb*=*jībḥ*, tongue; *nāṭṭa*=*dāṭ*, tooth; *nusrā*=*dusrā*, other; *nēṭ*=*pēṭ*, belly; *nāch*=*pāch*, five; *nōkkaḍ*=*bōkaḍ*, goat; *nihē*=*liyē*, for the sake of. This *n* is sometimes aspirated, when it has been substituted for an aspirate or *s*; thus, *nhēt*=*khēt*, field; *nhāḍ*=*ḍzhāḍ*, tree; *nhāmē*=*sāmnē*, before; *nhuriyā*=*suriyā*, sun.

*B* is prefixed in words such as *bēk*, one; *bus*, him; *bēṭhē-sī*, from here. It replaces an old initial in words such as *bōrā*=*chhōrā*, boy; *bannagar*=*dhangar*, shepherd; *bōmnā*=*sōnā*, gold.

*R* is apparently only used instead of an initial guttural; thus, *ris-kā*, whose? *rēṭṭī*, how much? *rānna*=*kān*, ear; *rāy*=*gāy*, cow; *rāw*=*gāw*, village; *rhup*=*khūb*, well; *rhōḍā*=*ghōḍā*, horse; *rhālō*=*ghālō*, put.

Sometimes also words are disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, went; *rōghyā*, stayed; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, sister; *nanchhā*, small; *nāwchhā*, name; *hōchchē*, is, etc. Other additions are *tā* in *bāptā*, father; *bhāṭā*, brother; *p* in *dēppa*, give; *lyēp*, take; *r* in *dhōr*, two; *w* in *āwātā*, comes; *s* and *sar* in *jāssa*, go; *āsartā*, comes, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained by studying the specimens which follow. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second is the deposition of a witness. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 24.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

## CRIMINAL KÖLHÄTĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

## DISTRICT AKOLA.

Kōi bēk kōdmī-kō dhōr bōrē hōchche. Bus-mē-kā nhannā  
*Some one man-to two sons were. Them-in-of younger*  
 bōrā bappā-ku kahēngdā, 'bappā, yō mērā ṭhamālā-kā nāṭṭā mu-ku  
*son father-to said, 'father, this my property-of share me-to*  
 āsartā, wō mō-ku dēppō.' Jabō bus-nē bunh-kō nhampat nāṭi  
*comes, that me-to give.' Then him-by them-to property dividing*  
 dēppi. Jabō nhōdē dinā-sī nhansā bōrā sab namā  
*was-given. Then few days-from small son all together*  
 kariknāi dūr nēsā-mē gōghā, ani wōṭhē khudāḍēpanā-sī  
*having-made far country-in went, and there riotousness-with*  
 lyā aḥi khāplī nhampat khudāi dēppi. Jabō bus-nē  
*was-taken and own property having-wasted was-given. Then him-by*  
 sab rharchē-par bus mulkhā-mē chaḍā rāy ṭawya, bus-muyē  
*all spent-after that country-in big famine fell, that-on-account-of*  
 bus-ku khadchan ṭavi. Jad ō bus nēsā-mē-kā bēkkā rarasthā-kē  
*him-to difficulty fell. Then he that country-in-of one man-of*  
 khanajik jāik rōghyā. Bun-nē bus-ku khāplē nhētā-mē nhūr  
*near having-gone stayed. Him-by him own field-in swine*  
 narāwnē naṭhāyā. Jad sūr jō narphal khātā thiyā bus-par  
*to-feed was-sent. Then swine which husks eating were those-on*  
 khāplā pēt bharnā ēsā bus-kē nilā-mē āyā ; ākhin  
*own belly should-be-filled thus his heart-in came ; and*  
 kin-nē bus-ku kāhī dippā nāhī. Jad ō nhudī-par  
*anybody-by him-to anything was-given not. Then he sense-on*  
 āiknāhī kahēngdā, 'mērē bappā-kē ēṭhē ritēk nhāldārā-ku  
*having-come said, 'my father-of with how-many servants-to*  
 nhar-pūr rōṭṭi milti, ākhin hū bhukkā-sī ṭhamartā.  
*belly-full bread is-got, and I hunger-from am-dying.'*  
 Utṭhi khāplē bappā-kē baṅg jāngdā wa bus-kē kēhē, 'nō  
*Having-arisen own father-of near went and him-to said, 'O*  
 bāptē, mē-nē nēwā-kē khirdi wa tērē nhāmnē nāp karyā  
*father, me-by God-of against and of-thee before sin done*



hē. Ap-sī tērā chhōrā kēhēnē-kē hū lāyak nāhī.  
*is. Now-from thy son saying-of I worthy not.*  
 Narantu bappā-nē khāplē nakrā-ku kahyā, 'śābut rapdā  
*But father-by own servants-to it-was-said, 'good cloth*  
 lāi bus-ku rhallō ; ākhin bus-kē kōhōtā-mē khāngōṭī wō  
*having-taken him-to put ; and his hand-on ring and*  
 gōtē-mē jōḍvē rhallō. Jab āpun khāi nēn karaṅ.  
*foot-on shoes put. Then we having-eaten merry shall-make.*  
 Kāran yō mērā chhōrā marī gayā thiyā, ō phiriknāi  
*Because this my son having-died gone was, he again*  
 jiwṭā huwā ; wō jattā rhiyā thiyā, ō milyā.' Jab  
*living became ; he lost remaining was, he was-found.' Then*  
 ō harikh karhī rihē.  
*they merriment making were.*

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[No. 25.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

## CRIMINAL KŌLHĀṬĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT AKOLA.

Jānu walad Hari, nāt Kōlhāṭī, khumbar baras tis, basti  
*Jānu son-of Hari, caste Kōlhāṭī, age years thirty, residence*  
 Kāndī, nēwā-kī ān lii kēhētā kē ājmās pandhrā din huē  
*Kāndī, God-of oath having-taken I-say that nearly fifteen days become*  
 hōngē, rōj śukarwār din rāti hū wō bhatānī ān dhōr chhōrē  
*may-be, day Friday day at-night I and wife and two children*  
 ittē khōggē-mē suktē thiē. Jab dhōr pēhērā-kē rāti-kē  
*so-many house-in sleeping were. Then two watch-of night-of*  
 sumbārā-mē mērē bhatānīyā-nē mu-ku jāgī karyā ākhin kihī  
*approximation-in my wife-by me awakening was-made and saying*  
 rihī kē, 'khōggē-mē bhāṇḍē bajī rihūpē, ākhin kōdmī-kā chāhāy  
*she-was that, 'house-in pots sounding are, and man-of noise*  
 āwtā hē, jab uṭh.' Bus-par-sē hū uṭhyā ākhin bhitī-kē baṅg  
*coming is, then rise.' That-on-from I rose and wall-of near*  
 dēkhyā. Jabī bhōk mu-ku dikhyā. Bus-par-sē mu-ku khās  
*it-was-seen. Then hole me-to was-seen. That-on-from me-to certainly*  
 wāṭyā kē kōi-tō-bī khōggā phōḍī māhāy ghusyā hē.  
*it-appeared that somebody house having-broken inside entered is.*  
 Khōggā-mē diwā nāhī thiyā. Mērē bichhāwnā-tanhē aṅgār-pēṭi thī.  
*House-in lamp not was. My bed-under match-box was.*  
 Mē-nē lagēch gāḍḍhī bus-kō pēṭāi. Ittē-mē yō ārōpi  
*Me-by at-once having-taken-out it was-lighted. This-much-in this accused*  
 bhitī-kē pādēl bhōkā-ṭhōk jāi-riyā. Bus-par mērī najar gayē-barōbar  
*wall-of made hole-near going-was. That-on my sight gone-immediately*  
 mē-nē bus-ku pakadyā, ākhin bus-kā kōhōt pakadyā. Bus-kō kēhēngdā  
*me-by him-to was-seized, and him-of hand was-seized. Him-to I-said*  
 kē, 'arē nōrā, kaṭṭhē chalyā?' Bus-par-sī bus-kī ān mērī  
*that, 'O thief, where moved?' That-on-from him-of and of-me*  
 jhōmbājhōmbī khub hui, wō mē-nē khōggō-mē-sī kalhā karyā.  
*struggling much became, and me-by house-in-from noise was-made.*

Bus-par-sī khōggē-kē śējārī-lōk Sitārām wō Iṭhōbā ēsē āyē.  
*That-on-from house-of neighbours Sitārām and Iṭhōbā these came.*

Ittē-mē mērē bhatāniyā-nē diwā lagāyā, ākhin khōggē-kē mähāy-kī  
*This-much-in my wife-by lamp was-lighted, and house-of inside-of*  
 sākkayī gāddhi, wō uprē jō isam likhyē vē mähāy  
*chains were-taken-off, and above which persons were-written those inside*  
 āyē. Jab mu-ku bhallā jōr āyā; jab is ārōpiyā-ṭhō  
*came. Then me-to much strength came; then this accused-near*

dēkhyē, tō pāch khanna nikyē. Vē khanna thērā ṭivē  
*it-was-seen, then five bodices came-out. Those bodices three rupees*  
 kimatī-kē hē. Vē mērē hē, bhatāniyā-kē gathōdē-mē thiyē. Ō  
*worth-of are. They mine are, wife-of cloth-bundle-in were. That*

gathōdā chakkiyā-ṭhōkē utyaniyā-ṭhō thiyā. Is-kē śiwāi nusrā  
*bundle grinding-stone-near-of jar-pile-near was. This-of excepting other*

māl gayā nāhī. Ham-nē thērā-nē bus-kē kōhōt baddhē, ākhin  
*property went not. Us-by three-by him-of hands were-bound, and*

lagēch paṭēlā-kē baṅg lii gayē, wō huī bakikat paṭēlā-kō  
*at-once Paṭēl-of near having-taken went, and happened account Paṭēl-to*

kahī. Bus-par-sī paṭēlā-nē chaukidārā-kē wō dhēdā-kē tābē-mē  
*was-told. That-on-from Paṭēl-by watchman-of and mahār-of custody-in*

ārōpi-ku diyā, ākhin sabērē-kē pēhēr pōlis ṭhēsan Bārsī-Ṭākliyā-ku  
*the-accused-to was-given, and morning-of time police station Barsi-Takli-to*  
 paṭhāyā. Ārōpi kis rāw-kā hē, bus-kē nāwchhā kyā hē, yō  
*he-was-sent. The-accused which village-of is, his name what is, this*

mu-ku mālum nāhī, kāran-kē ō hamārē rāwā-kā nāhī. Diwā lagāwnē-kē  
*me-to known not, because he our village-of not. Lamp lighting-of*

nihē mē-nē aṅgār-pēṭī-kī kāḍī ōdhī. Ittē-mē ō ārōpi  
*in-order me-by match-box-of stick was-rubbed. This-much-in that accused*

bhōkkā-kē khanaṭik dikhānā. Bus-mudē mu-ku diwā lagāwtā  
*hole-of near appeared. That-on-account-of me-to lamp being-lighted*

āyā nāhī. Bhitī-kē pādēl bhōkkā-mē-sī kōdmī-ku aḍchan-mē-sī jānā  
*came not. Wall-of broken hole-in-from man-to difficulty-in-from to-go*

āwnā āwtā. Kachērīō-mē huwā khidā jis khidē-sē bhitī-ku bhōk  
*to-come comes. Court-in become nail which nail-by wall-to hole*

pādyā, ō mu-ku bhōkā-kē najikā-kē nhāwniyā-mē milyā.  
*was-split, that me-to hole-of near-of bathroom-in was-found.*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

I, Jānu, son of Hari, a Kōlhāṭī by caste, aged thirty, a resident of Kandi, state on oath that, about a fortnight ago, on a Friday night, I and my wife and two children were sleeping in the house. At midnight my wife roused me and said, 'there is a rattling of pots in the house, and footsteps are heard, therefore get up.' Then I got up and on looking towards the wall I saw a hole in it. I then understood that somebody must have broken into the house. There was no light in the house, but there was a match-box beneath my bed. I immediately got hold of it and lighted a match. Then this very accused began to move towards the hole made in the wall. As soon as I saw him, I caught hold of him and holding him by the hand said to him, 'Ah thief, where are you off for?' Then there was a great struggle between him and me, and I cried out loudly from within the house. Thereupon my neighbours Sitārām and lṭhōbā came. In the meantime my wife lighted a lamp and unchained the door from within, and the persons just noted stepped into the house. Then I felt much strength. When the accused was searched five pieces of bodice-cloth were found on him. They are worth three rupees. They are mine and were in the bundle of my wife, which was near the jar-pile by the grinding stone. Nothing besides this is lost. We three bound the hands of the accused and immediately took him to the Paṭēl and informed him of what had happened. The Paṭēl gave the accused in charge of a chaukidār and a mahār and in the morning sent him to the police station at Barsi Takli. I do not know from what village the accused is or what his name is, for he does not belong to our village. I struck a match to light the lamp, and then I saw the accused at the hole. Therefore I could not light the lamp. A man can with difficulty go in and out of the hole made in the wall. The iron spike before the Court, with which the wall was bored, was found by me in the bath-room near the hole.

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## GĀRŌḌĪ.

The Gārōḍīs are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum District. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. They are said to have been converted to Muhammadanism about the middle of the sixteenth century, and are looked upon as belonging to the Madārī sect. According to the Bombay Gazetteer,<sup>1</sup> 'the men are middle-sized, sturdy, and dark or olive . . . The women, who like the men are middle-sized, are thin, well-featured, and dark or olive . . . The men are jugglers, tumblers, and snake-charmers. They are hard-working, but are much given to intoxicating drinks and drugs and are poorly clad and scrimped for food . . . Except circumcising their boys they keep no Musalman customs, and are Muhammadans in little more than name.'

The name Gārōḍī or Gārūḍī is derived from *gāruḍa*, a snake-charmer. I have no information as to the number of Gārōḍīs in Belgaum.

Two specimens and a list of Standard Words and Sentences have been received from Belgaum as illustrating the dialect of the Gārōḍīs. It is a rather inconsistent form of speech, and it seems probable that several of the forms registered in the list are incorrect. Thus the future *lugāwūṅgō*, shall beat, is stated to be used in both numbers. In the specimens, however, we find *hapelūṅgā*, let us become. This latter form most closely agrees with Eastern Rājasthānī. On the whole it will be seen that Gārōḍī is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rēmṇā*, goat, as in Hindōstānī. The plural and the oblique base end in *ē* as in Hindōstānī; compare *lāwḍē* (but also *lāwḍō*), sons; *bhāwutē-kū*, to a father. The genitive ends in *kō* as in Rājasthānī. Before an inflected masculine noun we also find *kī*. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hū*, I am dying, as in Mēwātī, Mālvi, and Mēwāri. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī; Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, I; *lāwḍē*, a child; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on. In addition to all these elements there is also an admixture of Dravidian. It is seen in some words such as *iṅgā*, here; *uṅgā*, there; *nīrmā*, water; *nānd*, house, village, etc., in the frequent use of adverbial and relative participles such as *hāyilētō*, when coming; *hāyilandē*, coming; *bētēsō*, eaten, and so forth.

It would, however, be useless to go into further details. The mixed nature of the dialect will be sufficiently apparent from the specimens.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍīs try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words found in the specimens are *alīlī*, whip; *bēt*, eat; *bōngā*, gold; *chisam*, good; *chōnō*, name; *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave; *dharālī*, iron; *dhāytī*, property; *ḍzhalwītī*, harlot; *ḍzhāmī*, midnight; *ḍzhangī*, a bulbous root; *gōnō*, hand; *gōnālī*, foot; *ghuruknā*, swine; *jachan*, diagnose; *kājā*, man; *kanēchī*, eye (cf. Tamil *kaṇa*); *khōmḍā*, mouth; *kīcsō*, bull; *kāyīlī*, ailment; *lug*, die; *lugā*, beat; *mallā*, garden; *nimal*, run, loose; *nānd*, house, village; *nāthyū*, wife; *nīrmā*, water; *panēchī*, back (cf.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxi, pp. 224 & f.

Kanarese *bennu*); *tabēt*, health; *ṭap*, fall; *ṭōk*, say; *ṭōlchō*, head (cf. Kanarese *tale*); *ṭhig*, sit; *walā*, give, and so on.

† Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the letters; thus, *ḍabō*, big; and perhaps *ṭap*, fall. Occasionally we find aspiration or disaspiration of consonants; thus, *ghāyilē*, they went; *lhailkanā*, having taken; *nākyō*, threw.

In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word. *Kh* is used in this way in words such as *khadmī*, man; *khūpar*, above; *khut-kō*, having arisen; *khōyīd*=*baid*, doctor. In *gāndilō*, silver, *g* is similarly used instead of *ch*, and in *rēmnā*, goat, *r* for *m*.

*Ch* is, as in many similar argots, used instead of *b* in words such as *chulāwu*, to call; *chōlṇī*, word, state. Note *chirwānd*, bind. In *jīlāṭī*, cat, *j* has been used in a similar way, cf. *bilāḍī*. *Dzh* is a more common substitute; compare *ḍzhichāḍī*, behind; *ḍzhukāyit*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *ḍzhāil-kanā*, having gone; *ḍzhapplī*, shoe, sandal; *ḍzhupār*, afternoon (cf. *dō pahār*), and so on. A *t* has been substituted for a *p* in *ṭikad*, seize. The initial *ḍh* in *ḍhamuklō*, belly; *ḍhikmō*, slave, is probably of the same kind. The syllable *tur* in *turcālē*, hair, is apparently also an addition made in order to disguise the word, or else it may be a disguised *sir*, head. Other consonants used in a similar way are *n* in *nētyā-kū*, to the fields; *l* in *lipadā*, cloths; and, cockney way, *h* in *hāyil*, come; *hunṭ*, camel.

Another way of disguising words is by means of additions at the end. Such additions are,—

*k* in *bhēkdā*, brother; and *g* in *bōngā*, gold; compare, however, Kanarese *baṅgāra*;

*ch* in *kanēchī*, eye; *kānēchī*, ear; *chandīchī*, moon; *bhanīchī*, sister; *nhanchō*, small, etc.;

*ṭ* in *ghōrṭō*, horse; *ḍ* in *khagāḍī*, before; *khōmḍā*, mouth; *dāḍwā*, tooth; *bhēkdā*, brother, etc.;

*t* in *ḍzhukāyit*, hunger;

*p* in *rhapēlyō*, was; *hapē-nā*, am not;

*m* in *ek-mū*, one; *dul-mū*, two; *kitmū*, how many? *bhutmū*, devil; *dēmā*, god; *tōḍmē*, I broke; *thudmē*, few; *karmel*, do; *sunmel-kā*, having heard, etc.

*l* in *karēlyō*, did; *karmel*, do; *ghalel*, put; *ghāyilē*, went; *chalēlē*, went; *jagāyilyo*, waked; *ḍzhāyil*, go; *baṭal-kā*, dividing; *rakellē*, keep; *sunel-hāyilyō*, hearing came, was heard; *sunnel-kā*, having heard; *hāyilyō*, came; *dulmū*, two, and so forth. Similarly we find *ḷ* in words such as *nachlan*, dancing; *mōklō*, relief.

Finally we find *s* added in *kharsā*, ass.

By means of all these additions the argot of the Gārōḍīs gets a peculiar appearance. Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second is an incomplete version of a well-known tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[ No. 26.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌDĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekmū kājā-kū dulmū lāwḍē chhō. Yē-kē mhayī nhanchō lāwḍō  
*One man-to two sons were. Them-of among younger son*  
 āplyō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō, 'bhāwutē, tērō dhāyṭi-mā-si ma-kū hāyilandē  
*own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in-from me-to coming*  
 bātō ma-kū walā.' Bhāwutō yē-kē mhayī āplyō dhāyṭi baṭal-kā  
*share me-to give.' Father them-of among own property dividing*  
 walai. Nhanchō lāwḍō āplyō bātō lhail-kanā dūr mulūk-kū  
*gare. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to*  
 dzhāil-kanā bharkum din hoyilē-nā, ō-mā-ch wō dund hō-kanā  
*having-gone many days became-not, that-in he riotous having-become*  
 āplyō dhāyṭi sab ghalā nākyō. Ō hē karēlētō wā  
*own property all throwing was-lost. He so doing that*  
 mulūk-ma ḍabī dzhyānjli ṭap-kā ō-kū wanwās hāyilyō. Ō  
*country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty became. He*  
 wā dēs-kā ekmū khadmī kan tsākri rhapēlyō; ē khadmī  
*that country-of one man near in-service remained; that man*  
 ō-kū ghuruknā charāṇē-kū nētyā-kū lagā-dhailyō. Ungā dzhukāyit-si  
*him swine feeding-for fields-to was-sent. There hunger-from*  
 kalmal hōyil-kan ghuruknā bētēsō bhussō bī bēt-kō  
*exhausted having-become swine eaten husks even having-eaten*  
 dhamuklō bharlē-chhō, lēkhin ō-kū koyi-kan-si kujī-ch milēchh-nā.  
*belly filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything-even was-got-not.*  
 Aīsē thudmē din ghayilē, āplyō dzhichali chōlnī yād hō-kanā  
*So few days passed, own former state memory having-become*  
 ō āplyō man-ma tōkyō, 'mērē bhāwutē-kanā chhōtō kitmū  
*he own mind-in said, 'my father-near being how-many*  
 tsākri-wālā-kū dhamuklā bhar-kā jāstī bētnī mil-chhī; mī-tō-  
*servants-to bellies having-filled more food got-is; I-on-the-other-*  
 bī ingā dzhukāyit-si lugū-hū. Mi khuṭ-kō-nā mēto bhāwutē-kanā  
*hand here hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-near*  
 dzhāyil-kē tōkyō, "bhāwutē, mī dēmā-kā pāp bhāwutē-kā pāp  
*having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of sin father-of sin*

chirwānd-kā liyō. Mī tērō lāwdō kar-kō tōknē-kū chisam.  
*having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said saying-for fit*  
 hape-nā. Ma-kū tērē-kanā ekmū naukar-wānī rakhel-lē." Aśō  
*am-not. Me of-thee-near one servant-like keep."* So  
 tōk-kanā unḡā-sī khuṭ-kanā āplyō bhāwutē-kanā hāyilyōtō bhāwutō  
*having-said there-from having-arisen own father-near came-when father*  
 dūr-sī ō-kū charch-kanā mayā hāyil-kanā nimal-kā dzhāyil-kanā  
*far-from him having-seen pity having-come having-run having-gone*  
 tīkad-kanā chummī wolāyō. Tab lāwdō bhāwutē-kū tōkyō,  
*having-embraced kiss was-given. Then son father-to said,*  
 'bhāwutē, mī tērē khagāḍī dēmā-kē khagāḍī chūk karēlyō. Tū  
*'father, by-me of-thee before God-of before sin was-done. Thou*  
 ma-kū tērō lāwdō kar-kā chulāwu hape-nā.' Ō-kī bhāwutō  
*me thy son having-made to-call is-not.'* This-to father  
 āplyō naukar-kū tōkyō, 'chisam lipadā lhāyil-kanā mērē lāwdē-kū walāw;  
*own servants-to said, 'best robe having-taken my son-to give;*  
 gōnē-ma khaṅṡī ghalel, gōnālī-ma dzhyapplī ghalel; bētnī tayārī  
*finger-on ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner preparation*  
 karmel; ham bēt-kanā khuṡī hapelungā; kaikētō yē mērō lāwdō  
*make; we having-eaten merry shall-become; because this my son*  
 lug ghailyō chhō, phir-kanā dam hāyilyō; nimal ghailyō chhō-sō,  
*dead gone was, again life came; lost gone being,*  
 milyō.' Yō sunel-kanā sab khadmī khuṡī hapellyō.  
*was-found.'* This having-heard all men glad became.

Yā bakhat-kū ō-kē ḡabō lāwdō nētyā-ma chhō. Ō nānd-kanā  
*This time his elder son field-in was. He house-near*  
 hāyilētō ō-kū ḡīd haur nachlan sunel hāyilyō. Ō  
*coming-when him-to song and dancing to-hear came. He*  
 tsākriwālē-ma ekmū-kū chulā-kan, 'yō kē hapel?' āsē tōkyō.  
*servants-among one-to having-called, 'this what is?' so said.*  
 Ō-kū wa-nā tōkyō, 'tērō bhēkdā hāyilyō hāyi, ē chisam-sī  
*Him-to him-by it-was-said, 'thy brother come is, he well*  
 hāyilē kar-kā tērē bhāwutē-nā bētnī karēli hāyi.' Itmu  
*came having-said thy father-by dinner made is.'* This  
 sunel-kanā wā ḡabā lāwdō ghusī-kū hāyil-kū mhayī ghailē-nā.  
*having-heard that elder son anger-to having-come inside went-not.*  
 Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē bhāwutē-nā bhāyir hāyil-kanā, 'mhayī-hāyil,'  
*That-of for-the-sake his father-by outside having-come, 'inside-come,'*  
 kar-kā ta-kū bharkum ajījī karēlyō. Ō-kī ō āplyō  
*having-said him-to much entreaty was-made. That-to he own*



bhāwutē-kī tōkyō, 'mī itmū baras tak tērī tsākri karel-kanā  
*father-to said, 'I so-many years up-to thy service having-done*  
 tērī chōlṇī kabī tōdmē-nā. Lēkhin mī mērō dōs-kū lhail-kanā  
*thy word ever broke-not. But I my friends having-taken*  
 bētnī karelnē-kē wāstē tū kabī ma-kū ekmū rēmnā-bī  
*dinner making-of for-the-sake thou ever me-to one kid-even*  
 walāy-nā. Džhalwātnī-kā saṅgat karel-kanā tērō dhāyṭī sab  
*gavest-not. Harlots-of company having-made thy property all*  
 niṅgaḷ-liyōsō yō tērō lāwdō nānd-kū hāyilyō barābar tū ō-kē  
*devouring-taking this thy son house-to came immediately thou him-of*  
 wāstē bētnī karēlyō.' Bhāwutē-nā lāwdō-kē tōkyō, 'tū  
*for-the-sake dinner modest.' Father-by son-to it-was-said, 'thou*  
 har-gaḍī mērē saṅgat rhaṇelā; mērē-kan hapēlāsō sab tērō-ch  
*all-time of-me in-company art; of-me-near being all thine-alone*  
 hāyil. Luggōsō tērō bhēkdā, phir-kā dam bharēlyō; nimal ghailyō  
*is. Dead-being thy brother, again life filled; lost gone*  
 cbhōsō, milēlyō. Aisō ham khuṣī hōyilnē-kē chisam hapelā.  
*being, was-found. So we happy to-become good is.'*

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[No. 27.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

GĀRŌDĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ajar dzhāyilnē-kē bhōlō upāw. Ekmū nānd-ma ekmū dabō  
*Indigestion going-of simple remedy. One town-in one big*  
 kājā chhō. Ō har-gaḍi bharkum bēt-kanā ṭhigyāsō jāgā-pa ṭhigyō  
*man was. He every-time much having-eaten sitting place-in sitting*  
 chhō. Kōnsē-ch tarā-sī kaisht karel chha-nā. Ō-kī wāstē ō-kē  
*was. Any-even kind-of labour doing was-not. That-of for-the-sake his*  
 aṅg-ma kabī-tō bī sustī hāyil-chhī. Ekmū din ō kājā  
*body-in sometimes also indisposition coming-was. One day that man*  
 āplyō dōs-kē nānd-kū bētnē-kū ghailyō chhō. Ūngā bharkum bēt-  
*own friend-of house-to eating-for gone was. There much having-*  
 kanā dzhāmī-tak jāgāyilyō. Ō-kī wāstē sakāl ō-kū  
*eaten midnight-till waked. That-of on-account next-morning him-to*  
 bharkum ajar hō-gailī. Ō bakhat-kū ō tabēt charch-kanā hāyil  
*great indigestion became. That time-at he health having-examined come*  
 kar-kā gāḍī-kē khūpar chaḍ-kan khōyid-kē nānd-kū ghailyō.  
*having-said carriage-of upon having-mounted doctor-of village-to went.*  
 Khōyid-nā ō-kē gōnō charch-kanā kāyli-kī jachan karel-kanā  
*Doctor-by his hand having-examined disease-of examination having-made*  
 ṭōkyō, 'bāwā, ingā-sī dūlmū kōs-pa. ekmū mallē-ma yā kāyli-kū  
*said, 'Sir, here-from two kōs-in one garden-in this disease-for*  
 walānē-kī dzhangī hapelā. Khuśī-sē ūngā-tak hāyiltō ō khupaḍ-kan  
*giving-of bulb is. Kindly there-to come-if that having-rooted-up*  
 walañ. Ō-kī wāstē dzhūpār-kē mhayī tērē kāyli dzhāyil-kē  
*I-may-give. That-of on-account afternoon-of in thy disease having-gone*  
 mōklō hapēlaṅgō.' Itmū sunmel-kā kājā-nā ṭōkyō, 'mērō  
*relief will-become.' This-much having-heard man-by it-was-said, 'my*  
 gāḍī tayār hōyil-kā rhapelī. Hāyil, ūngā-tak dzhāyil-kanā  
*carriage ready having-become stands. Come, there-to having-gone*  
 hāyilānā.' Itmū ṭōk-kanā, ō wā khōyid-kē barābar gāḍī-ma  
*let-us-come.' This-much having-said, he that doctor-of with carriage-on*

chad-kan      chalēlē.      Nānd-kanā-sī      dulmū      kōs      dzhāyil-kanā      khōyīd-nā  
*having-mounted      went.      House-near-from      two      kōs      having-gone      doctor-by*  
gōnē-mā-kī      alḍī      hōnūkar-kā      tanā      nakhil      diyō.  
*hand-in-of      whip      intentionally      down      throwing      was-given.*

### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A simple remedy for indigestion.

There lived in a town a rich man who always ate much and was given to sedentary habits. He took no kind of exercise, and therefore he now and then suffered from indisposition. One day he went to dine with a friend. He ate a lot and stayed up till midnight. Consequently he had a bad fit of indigestion the next morning. Therefore he drove over to the doctor's to have his disease diagnosed. The doctor felt his pulse, diagnosed his disease and said, 'in a garden about two *kōs* from here there is a bulbous root which is a specific for your disease. If you please, follow me there, and I shall have it dug out. Then your ailment will cease in the afternoon and you will get relief.' Hearing this the man said, 'my carriage is ready, come, let us go there.' After having said so he drove along in company with the doctor. When they had gone on about two *kōs* from the town, the doctor intentionally dropped the whip.

## MYĀNWĀLE OR LHĀRĪ.

The word *Myānwālā* means a scabbard-maker. No information is available about the people who bear the name. Specimens of their dialect have been forwarded from the Belgaum District. The names given to this form of speech is *Myānwālē* or *Lhārī*. *Myānwālē* is simply the plural form of *Myānwālā*. *Lhārī* probably represents a rapid pronunciation of *Lōhārī*, the language of the *Lōhārs*. At the last Census of 1911, 817 *Lōhārs* were enumerated in Belgaum. It is not, however, probable that the so-called *Myānwālē* is the language of all the *Lōhārs*; it is probably only spoken by a small section.

The base of *Myānwālē* is *Dakhanī Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Thus, strong masculine bases end in *ō* in the singular as in the latter, and in *ē* in the plural as in the former. The distinction between singular and plural forms is, to judge from the conjugation, of little importance; compare *lōtūngō*, he will beat, they will beat. Forms such as *hitwādyā*, they went, show that the termination *ē* is not the only one in the plural of strong bases; the *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī* termination *ā* must be used as well. Of case terminations we may note dative *kū* as in *Mālvi* and *Dakhanī Hindōstānī*, genitive *kō* as in *Mālvi* or *kā* as in *Hindōstānī*; and locative *mē* as in *Mālvi* and *Hindōstānī*, or *mā*, cf. *Gujarātī mā̃*. There does not appear to exist a separate case of the agent, the nominative being used to denote the subject even if the verb is the past tense of a transitive.

"I" is *mē* as in *Bundēli*, and "we" is *hamē*, cf. *Gujarātī amē*.

The conjugation of verbs does not appear to be correctly represented in the list of words, where we find forms such as *hū* for all persons and numbers of the present tense of the verb substantive and *lōtū* for the corresponding forms of *lōt-nā*, to beat. Forms such as *lug-nalō*, dying go, I die; *rhōkē*, thou art; *hōbrē*, is, show that the present tense is formed like the old present in *Mālvi*. The past tense ends in *ō* or *yō*; thus, *chōhwādyō*, said; *lōtō*, struck. The future is formed as in *Hindōstānī* but with the singular ending in *gō* as in Eastern *Rājasthānī*; thus, *rhāuṅgō*, I shall be; *hōbraṅgē*, we shall become. In the list of words forms such as *lōtūngō*, I shall beat, are used in all persons and numbers.

Other forms mainly agree with *Hindōstānī* and *Rājasthānī-Gujarātī*. Note the relative participle in *sō*, as in *dutōsō*, eaten; *hōbrēsō*, being; the use of *karke*, *karkō*, having done, corresponding to the Sanskrit *iti*; and the negative *jīn* in *chulāvē jīn*, do not call; for the last, compare *Kanaujī* and Eastern *Hindī*.

*Myānwālē* is, to judge from the specimens, an artificial argot built up on this base. There are some peculiar words such as *barawād*, come; *bēt*, take; *chhēgē*, preparation; *chhuman*, see; *chigīt*, run; *chāyī*, water; *chundaḍī*, ring; *damōlō*, man; *dāmī*, woman; *dut*, eat; *gēlō*, *gelpō*, boy; *jukēlā*, dog; *kīchī*, fire; *khīch*, give; *khōk*, house; *lugānā*, to break; *lugīt*, die; *lōt*, strike; *nānd*, village; *nīrō*, good; *nōkaḍō*, name; *rhākḷō*, brother. Some of these such as the base *bara*, to come; *nānd*, village (*Kanarese nādu*), seem to be Dravidian. Others are comparable with similar words in other argots.

Ordinary Aryan words are, moreover, disguised in various ways so as to make them unintelligible to outsiders. Sometimes a vowel is changed or an aspirated consonant disaspirated; compare *pēsō*=*pās*, near; *nuchō*=*pūchhā*, asked; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind. More commonly an initial consonant is changed or a consonant prefixed.

*K* is substituted in *hurṇā*, swine; compare *sūār*.

*Kh* has been prefixed in words such as *khādmī*, man; *khagāḍī*, before; *khāpṇō*, own; *khutnē-mē*, in the meantime; *khēk*, one; *khidēw*, god; *khiraṇḍ*, harlot. In *khulke*, having said, it has replaced an old *b*, and so on.

A *g* has been substituted for other initials in *gipaḍā*=*kapṛā*, clothes; and perhaps in *gēlō*, boy, cf. *bēḷā*.

As in similar argots *ch* and *chh* are often substituted for labials. Compare *chaḍḍō*=*barā*, big; *chōnd*=*bāndh*, tying; *chhīl*=*bhar*, filling; *chhuk*=*bhūkh*, hunger; *chhurgā*=*murgā*, cock.

*Dh* is prefixed as in similar argots; compare *dhākō*=*kākā*, uncle; *dhimlē*=*mīlā*, was got; *dhunabī*=*kuṇbī*, a cultivator; *dhēlyā*, compare *bhēṛā*, a kid.

*N* is a very common substitute. It replaces a guttural in *nusāl*, merry; *narībī*, poverty; *nusā*, angry; a palatal in *nākar*, servant; *nūk*, sin; a dental in *nōs*, friend; a labial in *naḍ-ke*, falling; *nāp*, sin; *nir-ku*, again; *nirāw*, put on; *nirādē* (*firyāḍī*), complainant; *narābar*, immediately; *nāt*, state; *naras*, year; *nītar*, inside; *nan*, mind; an *h* in *nakhikat*, facts. It has been substituted for an *s* in *nabaḷo*, all; compare *sab* and *sagla*. Instead of *s*, however, we more commonly find *nh*; thus, *nhankaḷ*, difficulty; *nhun-ke*, hearing; *nhuriyā*, sun. *Nh* is also used as a substitute for aspirated consonants in *nhēt*, field; *nhūs*, chaff; *nhōknō*, small.

*B* has been substituted for *l* in *bēḷō*, took; and for *s* in *bunakke*, to be heard (note the Dravidian termination). A *b* has been replaced by an *m* in *māwutō*, father, probably under the influence of *māwutī*, mother.

*Ṛ* is also a common substitute, especially for labials; thus, *rikan*, ear; *rātō*, share; *rāl*, hair; *ripchē*=*pīchhē*, behind; *rhāklō*=*bhāṭ*, brother; *rhār*, outside. *Rhāklō*, brother, is, however, perhaps connected with the European Gipsy word *rāklō*, boy.

Another device of disguising words is by means of various additions at the end, which then often replace an old final.

Thus a *k* is added in *rhōkē*, art; *niskō*, head; and a *kn* in *nhōknō*=*chhōḷā*, small. If *rhāklō*, brother, is derived from *bhāṭ*, a *kḷ* has been added.

An additional *g* occurs in words such as *chōg*, four; *dūg*, far; *dōg*, two, and so on. A *ch* is used in a similar way in words such as *kīchō*, did; *ghōḷchō*, horse.

An addition *ṛ* is used in some intransitive verbs; thus, *chīgīṛ*, run; *nukīṛō*, lost; *barīṛō*, came; *lugīṛō*, dead. A *ḍ* is added in *khagāḍī*, before. I may here add the suffixes *ōḍ* and *wāḍ* in verbal forms such as *natōḍ*, dividing; *rakhōḍ*, keeping; *ghalōḍ*, put; *barawāḍī*, she came; *rhōkwāḍō*, stayed; *hiṭwāḍyā*, they passed.

A *t* has been added in words such as *bēt*, take; *māwutō*, father, etc. The *p* in *gēlpō*=*gēlō*, boy, must be a similar addition.

An *l* or *ḷ* is apparently added or substituted for another final in words such as *gēlō*=*bēḷā* (?), boy; *dhēlyā*, kid; compare *bhēṛā*, ram; *chhīl*=*bhar* (?), filling; *kōḷ*=*kar*, doing (compare Sāsī *kāḷ*); *gawalnō*, singing, and so on.

The *bar* in *hōbar-ke*, having been, and so on, is probably a similar addition.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 179ff.

[No. 28.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYÂN WALE OR LHĀRĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk ḍamōlō-kū dōg gelpē hī. Wā-mē nhōknō gelpō  
*One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son*  
 khāpnō māwutē-kū khulwādyō, 'māwutō, tērō jingānī-mē ma-kū barōsō  
*own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming*  
 rāṭō ma-kū khīch.' Māwutō wā-mē khāpnō jingānī naṭōḍ-bētō.  
*share me-to give.' Father them-among own property divided.*  
 Nhōknō gelpō khāpnō rāṭō bēt-ke dūg mulūk-kū hiṭ-ke chhōt  
*Younger son own share having-taken far country-to having-gone many*  
 din naī hōbrē khutnē-mē ū dund hō-bar-ke khāpnō jingānī  
*days not became this-much-in he riotous having-become own property*  
 nabaḷō narab kōḷ kīchī. Ū wāsarē kōḷi khūpar wā  
*all evil doing was-done. He so having-done after that*  
 dēs-mā chaḍḍō dukāl naḍ-ke wā-kū naribī barawāḍī. Ū wā  
*country-in big famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that*  
 dēs-kā khēk ḍamōlō khurē nākri rhōkwāḍō. E ḍamōlō wā-kū  
*country-of one man near in-service remained. This man him*  
 kurnā narāṇē-kū khāpnō nhēt-ku nhandā-kichō. Utthē chhukē-sī  
*swine grazing-for own field-to sent. There hunger-from*  
 nhankaṭ hōbar-ke kurnā dutōsō nhūs-bī dut-ke rēpaṭ chhil  
*pangs having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly full*  
 bētō-tō, lēkin wā-kū kuṇ-kē pēsō-sē kuch-bī naī ḍhimlē.  
*taking-was, but him-to anybody-of near-from anything-even not was-got.*  
 Yēsō thōkē din hiṭwādyā, khāpnō ripchali nāt yād hōbar-ke  
*So few days passed, own former state memory having-become*  
 ū khāpnō nan-mā khulwāḍō, 'mērō māwutō pēsō hōbrēsō chhōt  
*he own mind-in said, 'my father near being many*  
 nākar-kū rēpaṭ chhil-ke jāstī dūtan ḍhimlē; mē hyā chhukē-sī  
*servants-to belly having-filled more food is-got; I here hunger-from*  
 lugnalō. Mē khutwāḍ-ke mērō māwutē-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke chhōlwādyō,  
*am-dying. I having-arisen my father-of near having-gone said,*

“māwutō, mē Khidēw-kā nāp māwutē-kā nāp chōnd bētō. Mē tērō  
*“father, I God-of sin father-of sin tying took. I thy*  
 gelpō kar-kō kēnē bētanē-kū lāyakh nañ. Ma-kū khēk nākari sarik  
*son saying saying taking-for worthy not. Me one servant like*  
 tērō pēsō rakhōd bēt.”’ Yātri khul-ke whā-sī khuṭ-ke  
*of-thee near keeping take.”’ So having-said there-from having-arisen*  
 khāpnō māwutē-kō pēsō baratē-kō māwutē wā-kū dūg-sē chhuman-kē  
*own father-of near coming-on father him far-from having-seen*  
 mayā bar-ke chigīṭ-hiṭ-ke chiṭhī lōtke chummā bētwādō.  
*pity having-come run-gone-having embrace having-struck kiss took.*  
 Tab gelpō māwutē-kū chhōlō, ‘māwutē, mē tērō khagāḍi Khidēw-kā  
*Then son father-to said, ‘father, I of-thee before God-of*  
 khagāḍi nūk kōlwāḍi. Ma-kū tērō gelpō kar-kū chulāvē  
*before sin did. Me thy servant having-said should-be-called*  
 jin.’ Wā-sē māwutō khāpnō nākar-kū khulwāḍyō, ‘nīrō gipadā  
*not.’ That-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress*  
 bēt-ke mērō gelpē-kū nīrāw; khānglī-mē chundaḍi ghalōḍ, gōnē-mē  
*having-taken my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put, feet-on*  
 jōḍakhā ghalōḍ; dūtnē-kū chhēgē kōlō. Hamē dūt-ke nuśāl  
*shoes put; eating-for preparation make. We having-eaten merry*  
 hōbraṅgē; kā-chōlē-tō yē mērō gelpō lugīṭō-tō, nīrku jik barō;  
*shall-become; why-say-then this my son dead-was, again life came;*  
 nukīṭō-hiṭyāsō, ḍhimlō.’ Yē nhunke nablē nuśī hōbrē.  
*lost-gone, was-found.’ This having-heard all glad became.*

Yē bakhat-kū wā-kō chaḍḍō gelpō nhēt-mē hōbrō. Ū khōk-kē  
*This time-at his big son field-in was. He house-of*  
 pēsō barawāḍō, tab wā-kū gawaṇnō nachaṇnō buṇakke barō. Yē  
*near came, then him-to singing dancing to-be-heard came. These*  
 nākar-mē khēk-kū chōl-ke, ‘kā nālī hōbrē?’ nuchawāḍyō.  
*servants-among one having-called, ‘what going-on is?’ asked.*  
 Wā-kū wā-nē khulwāḍō, ‘tērō rhākḷō barawāḍō; ū nīrō barke  
*Him-to him-by it-was-said, ‘thy brother came; he well having-come*  
 ḍhimlō. Wā-kē khāw-sē tērō māwutō dūtnō kōlō.’ Ō  
*was-met. That-of reason-from thy father feast made.’ That*  
 buṇ-ke wā-kō chaḍḍō gelpō nusā hōbar-ke nītar hiṭō nañ.  
*having-heard his big son angry having-become inside went not.*  
 Wā-kē khāw-sē wā-kō māwutō rhār barke, ‘nītar barawāḍ,’  
*That-of reason-from his father outside having-come, ‘inside come,’*  
 kar-ke wā-kū chhōt khulō. Ū khāpnō māwutō-kū khulwāḍō, ‘mē  
*having-said him-to much said. He own father-to said, ‘I*

itnē naras tallakh tērō nākri kōl-ke kabī tērō rhāyadī  
*so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy word*  
 lugai naī. Nir-ke mē mērō nōs-kū dhimalā-lē-kē dūtan kōlñē-kē  
*broke not. But I my friends having-gathered feast making-of*  
 khāw-sē tū ma-kū khēk dhilyā bī kabī naī khīchō. Nir-tū  
*reason-from thou me-to one kid even ever not gavest. But*  
 khirāṇḍ-kā naṅgāt-mē naḍ-ke tērō jingānī nab ningāl-bētēsō  
*harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy property all devoured-having*  
 yē tērō gelpō khōk-kū barē narābar tū wā-kē khāw-sē dūtan  
*this thy son house-to coming as-soon-as thou his sake-for feast*  
 kōl bētētō. Māwutō gelpō-kū chhōlwādō, 'tū nabalē dīn  
*making given-hast. Father son-to said, 'thou all days*  
 mērō hyā rhōkē. Mērō pēsō hōbrēsō nab tērō-ch. Lugitōsō tērō  
*of-me near art. Me-of near being all thine. Dead-being thy*  
 rhākḷō, nirkū jik baritō; nukitō hityāsō, dhimlō. Yēsō hamē nuī  
*brother, again life came; lost gone, was-found. So we merry*  
 hōbarkū narābar hōbrē.  
*to-become proper is.'*



[ No. 29.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MYĀNWĀLĒ OR LHĀRĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Khēk nānd-mē dōg chōngnē chhōt nōs hōbrō. Khēk din  
*One village-in two beggars much friends were. One day*  
 dōgū dhimal-kē nar-dēs-kū hiṭ-kē khāw-sē nichār  
*both having-come-together other-country-to going-of sake-for thinking*  
 kōl-ke khāpnī pēsō hōbrēsō thōkō lōkō khēk khiswāsūk  
*having-made self near being little money one honest*  
 chhuḍikī-kō nābē-mē khich-ke, 'hamē dōgū dhimal-kē  
*old-woman-of possession-in having-given, 'we both having-come-together*  
 chōngkū barē-tō yē ham-kū khichawād,' yēsē chōl-ke nimaḥ hiṭe.  
*asking-for come-if this us-to give,' so having-said away went.*  
 Khagāḍi thōkō din-kē khūpar wā-mē-sē khēklā nir-ke wā  
*Then few days-of upon them-in-of one having-retained that*  
 chhuḍikī-kō pēsō hiṭ-ke, 'māwutī, mērō nōs rāṭ-mel lugitō;  
*old-woman-of near having-gone, 'mother, my friend road-on died;*  
 wā-kī khāw-sē hamārō lōkō khichawād,' yēsō khulwādyō. Ī chhōt  
*that-of sake-for our money give,' so said. She many*  
 nabab khulwāḍi, lēkin ū buṅkō naī. Nhēwaṭi ī wā lōkō  
*excuses said, but he heard not. At-last she that money*  
 wā-kū khichō. Thōkō din-kē khūpar dukarō wā chhuḍikī pēsō  
*him-to gave. Few days-of upon the-second that old-woman near*  
 bar-ke nēṭ chōngwāḍi. Tab wā chhuḍikī, 'rhākḷō, thōkō  
*having-come purse demanded. Then that old-woman, 'brother, few*  
 din-kā ripchō tērō nōs bar-ke, tū lugitō, yēsō chōl-ke  
*days-of behind thy friend having-come, thou diedst, so having-said*  
 lōkō chōngwāḍe. Wā-sē, "tūm dōgū dhimal-ke barawād,"  
*money demanded. Him-to, "you both having-come-together come,"*  
 yēsō chhōt chōlwāḍō. Ū mērō rhāyaḍi naī buṅ-ke nulum-sē  
*so much said. He my word not having-heard force-with*  
 nab lōkō bētētō. Wā-sē ū narkār-kō pēsō nirādē  
*all money took-away. That-from he government-of near complainant*

hiṭō.      Tab      narkār      wā      chhudikī-kū      chulā-kū      bēt-kū      nabaḷi  
*went.      Then      government      that      old-woman      summoning-for      having-given      all*  
 nakhīkat      nuchō.  
*facts      asked.*

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### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived two beggars who were intimate friends. One day they thought of going together to a foreign country. They entrusted whatever little money they possessed to an honest old woman, requesting her to return it if they both came jointly to ask for it, and went away. A few days after one of them came back to the old woman and said, 'mother, my friend died on the road; therefore give my money to me.' She made many excuses, but he would not listen, and at last she returned the money to him.

Some days afterwards the other one came to the old woman and asked for the deposit. Then the old woman said, 'brother, a few days back thy friend came, said that you had died, and asked for the money. I remonstrated with him that you two would have to come together, but he did not heed my word and forcibly took the money from me.'

He then lodged a complaint before a judge. The judge summoned the old woman and ascertained all the facts.

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## KANJARĪ.

The name Kanjar is used to denote an aggregate of *vagrant* tribes. Mr. W. Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, states that they are probably of Dravidian origin. He further remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sānsiya, Hābūra, Beriya Bhātu, and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjāra, Baheliya.'

Many of them live in the forests, 'where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. The arts of the Kanjars are making mats of the *sirkī* reed, baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw. From the stalks of the *mūnj* grass and from the roots of the *palāśa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *śalmali* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.'

No satisfactory explanation of the word Kanjar has as yet been given. It has been derived from Sanskrit *kānanachara*, wanderer in the jungle, but this etymology is hardly possible from a philological point of view. It is more likely that *kanjar* is a shorter form of the word *kājarō* or *kājarō*, man, which is used by many Kanjars, and which is related to Sāsi *kājā*, Naṭi *kājā* and Dōm *kājā*. We do not know whether this word is Aryan or not. It is probably identical with Romani *gājō*.

The Kanjars are most numerous in the United Provinces in which, according to the Census of 1911, they numbered 18,345. Elsewhere there were 5,638, giving a total of 23,983.

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KIRKPATRICK, W.,—*Folk-songs and Folk-lore of the Gehara (Kanjars). ibidem*, pp. 437ff. Other papers by the same author are found *ibidem*, pp. 669ff. (Exogamous Septs of the Gehara Section of Kuchbandia Kanjars), and pp. 753ff. (Oaths and Ordeals of the Geharas (Kanjars) of the Delhi District). They do not deal with the language.

We are very insufficiently informed about the language of the Kanjars, and it is possible that in most districts they use the dialect of their surroundings. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect Kanjarī was returned from the following districts :—

United Provinces	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6,735
Aligarh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	800
Farrukhabad	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	435
Sitapur	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,000
Kheri	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,500
Central India	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	350
Gwalior	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	350
TOTAL											.	7,085

These figures are only loose estimates. Thus the number of Kanjars in Sitapur, where the estimated number of speakers was 3,000, was only 814 at the Census of 1901. On the other hand specimens of Kanjarī have been forwarded from Etawah and Belgaum, where no such dialect was reported to exist. The state of affairs is similar to that which we find in the case of other vagrant tribes. The Kanjars largely adopt the dialect of their neighbours. If they want to avoid being understood, however, they, or at least some of them, avail themselves of an artificial argot, in which there is a certain number of peculiar words and where, in addition to these, ordinary words are used, but often in an altered shape, so as to become unintelligible to outsiders. So far as we can judge from the specimens, however, Kanjarī differs from other Gipsy argots such as Naṭī in having a more uniform base. The prevailing language in Aligarh, Farrukhabad and Etawah is Western Hindī and in Sitapur and Kheri Eastern Hindī, while Kanarese and Marāṭhī predominate in Belgaum. The specimens received from all these districts, however, agree in so many particulars that we are almost justified in talking of a separate dialect. This dialect is, however, not a clearly defined form of speech, but a mixture of various languages, just as we should expect in the case of a vagrant tribe. But the mixture seems to be old and to have acquired a certain degree of constancy. The specimen received from Kheri, it is true, is written in Western Hindī, and only forms such as *dilā-mē*, in the heart; *basindā*, an inhabitant, show that the Kanjars from whose lips the specimen was taken down were not quite imbued with the grammar of that language. It seems likely that the Kheri specimen represents an attempt at talking Hindōstānī and not Kanjarī, and we can safely leave it out of consideration when trying to define the position of the latter. Also the Farrukhabad specimen is strongly influenced by Hindōstānī.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *ā*; thus, *garā-sē*, to the neck (Aligarh); *garā-mā*, on the neck (Etawah). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *ā* or *ā̃*; thus, *naukar-chakrā-sē*, to the servants (Aligarh); *rarsā-sē*, years from (Sitapur); *naukrā-ku*, to the servants (Belgaum). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī.

An *ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form; thus, *ribō-kē*, of the house (Aligarh, Sitapur); *bihār-ō-mē*, in the property (Etawah); *dāmō-dē*, of value (Farrukhabad); *bāpō-nē*, by the father (Belgaum). This *ō* is different from the final *ō* of strong masculine bases, which becomes *ā* in the oblique form and in the plural; thus, *chūbkō*, son; *chūbkā*, sons; *baphēlā-sē*, to the father, in the Sitapur specimens and similar forms in the materials forwarded from the other districts. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well. The Rājasthānī affinities acquire some significance if we remember that we find a similar state of affairs in other argots such as Dōm, Naṭī and Sāsī.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *ku*, *kū*, *kō* also reminds us of Dravidian. The ablative suffix is commonly *sē*, in Farrukhabad, however, also *sū̃* as in Mārwarī, Jaipurī and Mālvī. In Belgaum we find *dē*, from, which perhaps has something to do with the genitive suffix *dā*, *dī*, which is used in addition to *kā*, *kī*, in Farrukhabad. It will be seen that this latter suffix is identical with the Pañjābī one. It is, however, possible that it has something to do with Tamil *uḍeiya*, Kanarese *da*.<sup>1</sup>

In many of the specimens we will find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun; thus, *khachchhō najaū-kū̃*, to a good man (Sitapur); *ōchhō baṭrā-nē*, by the younger son (Etawah); *apaō kauṛī paisā*, his money (Farrukhabad); *tēro naukrī*, thy service (Belgaum). Such instances point to the conclusion that the sense of gender is weak and that adjectives are not inflected, a state of affairs which would be natural if the Kanjars were not originally Aryans.

With regard to pronouns we may note the use of the base *jō*, *jī*, as a demonstrative pronoun, just as is the case in Rājasthānī, and, further, the curious forms *urō-nē*, by him (Aligarh); *urō-kā*, his (Etawah); *īgal*, this matter; *kēgal*, what matter (Farrukhabad); *ūr*, *birō*, he; *urō-kō*, his (Sitapur); *yō*, thou; *yurō-ku*, *urō-ku*, to thee; *urō-ku*, to him. These and similar forms remind us of Dravidian; compare Tulu *īr*, Kui and Old Telugu *īru*, you; Tamil Kanarese *avur* Gōṇḍī *ōr*, he, etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus an *r* is frequently suffixed; compare *hubbār rai-r-ī*, is going on (Aligarh); *lugai-r-ō*, he beats (Sitapur); *rah-r-ō*, he remained (Aligarh); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *sun-r-ō*, he heard (Etawah); *ā-r-ō*, he came; *lugai-r-ō̃*, I had beaten (Sitapur); *kuṭ-r-ō*, I struck; *gaug-r-ō*, I went; *dusā-r-ō*, I said; *hu-r-ō*, I became (Belgaum). This *r* is sometimes followed by the termina-

<sup>1</sup> Compare, however, the Western Pāṭhī ablative postposition *dō*, which is certainly Indo-Aryan.

tion *s* of the past; thus, *kai-r-s*, did; said; *khā-r-s*, ate; *pī-r-s*, drank; *karī-gu-r-sē*, having done wentest, hast done, etc. (Aligarh).<sup>1</sup>

Often the syllable *wār* or *bār* is added; compare Myānwālē *wāḍ*, Ḍōm *uar*. Thus, *baṭ-wār*, dividing; *jibbār-ō*, came to life (Sitapur); *sun-wār-ko*, having heard; *kar-wār-ō*, hast made (Belgaum); *baṭ-bār*, having divided; *lī-bbār-kē*, having taken; *ra-bbār-ō*, wast (Aligarh), and so forth. In the Belgaum specimens we sometimes find *wāḍ* instead of *wār*; thus, *mīl-wāḍ-ō hē*, *mīl-wāḍ-dō*, and *mīl-wār-ō*, he is found; *tuḍ-wāḍ-ō*, broke; *paḍ-wāḍ-ko*, having fallen, and so forth. It seems probable that we should compare the Mārwarī termination *ṛō*, which is so frequently added pleonastically. We may also compare the causal terminations Mārwarī *wāw*, Jaipurī *āḍ*, Gujarātī *āw*, *āḍ*. Forms such as *khanēṭō karwārō hai*, thou hast made a feast; *charwārdō*, grazing; *bandwār līnō*, I have taken having caused it to be attached to me, I have committed, in the Belgaum specimen, are perhaps actually causals. In most cases, however, the addition of *wār* does not seem to affect the meaning.

This use of added *r*, *wār*, *bār* is accordingly perhaps another point in which Kanjarī agrees with Rājasthānī. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in that form of speech. In the past tense, however, the termination is *ō* and not *yō*; compare *karō*, did; *lagō*, began (Etawah). Forms such as *dīnō*, gave; *līnō*, took, are well known from Mārwarī and Jaipurī. The *l* in *manālō*, entreated (Aligarh); *pūchhlō*, asked (Etawah), may be comparable, or else it may be another form of the *r* mentioned above. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dīs*, gave; *līs*, took; *sunīgulis*, heard; *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh); *līnhis*, took; *dīnis*, gave (Etawah); *lakhāis*, said; *riūchhis*, asked; *kaughis*, said (Sitapur), on the other hand, belongs to Eastern Hindī. Such forms are especially common in the Sitapur specimen, and the prevailing language in Sitapur is Awadhī. They are not met with in the Belgaum texts.

In the future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Compare *kahsū*, I will say; *karugasā*, we will do (Aligarh); *lakhāwsū*, I will say; *lugaoghasī*, thou wilt beat, he will beat (Sitapur); *huggā*, it will be; *jāwāgā*, I shall go (Farrukhabad); *hōwunḡā*, I shall be; *kuṭunḡō*, I shall beat (Belgaum). Similar forms are found in Mārwarī, but more properly belong to Eastern Rājasthānī. In Etawah we find forms such as *jānḡ*, I shall go; *kahnḡ*, I shall say. They may be compared with the Jaipurī forms ending in *lō*. Compare also Naipālī.

So far as we have seen hitherto Kanjarī conjugation broadly agrees with Rājasthānī, especially Eastern Rājasthānī. Another feature seems to point in a different direction. Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Compare *tildō*, giving; *angadō*, coming; *jaugadō*, *jāḍō*, gone (Aligarh); *maddō*, dying; *kaddō*, doing; *rahandō-mē*, among the inhabitants (Etawah); *lugaḍḍō*, beating; *jaughadō*, going (Sitapur); *hōndō*, being; *nikkhardō*, going; *awardō*, coming; *margōdō*, dead (Belgaum). It will be seen that such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Some of these belong to present

<sup>1</sup> The termination *rō* may also be a contraction of *rahō* and *rs* of *rahēs*, both meaning 'was,' and the latter being the Awadhī form. In many dialects, especially in Western Pahārī, this is added to the conjunctive participle to form a past tense. Thus *ārō* may be for *ā-rahō*, and so for the others. According to native grammarians, *rahnā* is the 'sister' of *honā*.—G. A. G.

time ; thus, *chalgudaũ*, I go ; *dũtdaẽ*, they eat (Aligarh) ; *lugdaũ*, I die ; *aughadō*, he is coming (Sitapur) ; *maradũ*, I die ; *dẽndũ*, I give ; *ãndũ*, I come ; *nikhardaũ*, we, you, they go (Belgaum). Others have the meaning of past tenses. Compare *handō*, was (Aligarh) ; *jãlō*, was sent (Etawah) ; *ãndã*, came ; *kaindã*, said (Farrukhabad) ; *hũdō*, was ; *lugaõdō*, struck (Sitapur) ; *handō*, was ; *bharwār-lẽndō*, would have filled ; *gawãndẽ-gaudō*, was lost (Belgaum).

It would be possible to compare the suffix *ndō* of the present participle of Sindhi and Naipāli. The fact, however, that these forms are also used in the past perhaps points in a different direction. It will be seen from my remarks on page 296 of Volume IV of this Survey that there is a *d*-suffix which forms the indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages, and that one of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *ndu*. We have already found other possible traces of a Dravidian substratum in Kanjarī, and the *d*-suffix may be of the same kind. In this connexion I may also mention the verbal suffixes *ir* and *gir* in forms such as *lagirō*, began (Aligarh, Etawah, Sitapur) ; *ãgōgirō*, came ; *augirō*, came ; *gaigirō*, went ; *lugaighirō*, I have beaten ; *jaoghīrō*, went (Belgaum), and so on, which look like compounds with the Dravidian *iru*, is ; *kiri*, am. The *r*-suffix mentioned above may have a similar origin. The extensive use of relative participles and the apparent tendency to form a negative verb in Belgaum is of less significance, because the predominant language of the district is Kanarese.

The facts drawn attention to above show that the dialect of the Kanjars is a mixed form of speech, and that the most important ingredient is Eastern Rājasthānī. Some characteristics point to the conclusion that there is, besides, a certain Dravidian element. If anything can be inferred from this state of affairs about the original home of the Kanjars, it would be that they lived somewhere in Eastern Rajasthan or Central India. At the present day we find Gōṇḍ dialects spoken in Bhopal, and there can be no doubt that Dravidian forms of speech once extended farther to the west. It must, however, be remembered that the speech of a vagrant tribe like the Kanjars at the present day can hardly show where their original home is, but only, at the utmost, that they have come into contact with those languages which can be traced in their own speech.

Kanjarī contains some peculiar words of the same kind as similar forms of speech. Such are *lug*, die ; *lugai*, beat (Sitapur) ; *chũtokō*, son (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *tipuĩ*, bread (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *jhũkil*, dog (Sitapur) ; *dũt*, eat (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *thũr*, eat (Belgaum) ; *jhuraĩ*, fire (Sitapur) ; *gunḍālẽ*, foot (Belgaum) ; *gurārō*, foot (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *tiũr*, give (Sitapur) ; *kĩdō*, give (Belgaum) ; *riĩ*, house (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *nandō*, house (Belgaum) ; *kãjarō*, man (Etawah) ; *kãjarō*, man (Belgaum) ; *najaũ*, man (Sitapur) ; *tig*, see (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *nĩmãni*, water (Sitapur) ; *niwãni*, water (Belgaum), and so forth. Some of the words in use among Kanjars have a Dravidian look. Compare *pãlō*, bull ; *awarō*, comes ; *kĩdō*, give, in the Belgaum specimens, with Tamil *mãḍu*, bull ; *vara*, come ; *koḍu*, give, respectively, and *tiũr*, give (Sitapur), with Tamil *tara*, give. Mr. Kirkpatrick mentions several more such words, such as *dhĩmrĩ*, bread ; *ghamēlã*, sun ; *khainch*, thief ; *khuth*,

night ; *kūrch*, drink ; *mikatch*, death ; *ninghār*, ghee ; *rikā*, rupee ; *tigro*, see ; *tūbargo*, swim ; *tūrrak*, sleeping, and so forth. Of these *ghamēlā*, sun, is of some interest, as being evidently connected with Romani *kham*, sun, *lit.* heat.

With regard to the word *jhūkil*, dog, in the Sitapur texts, and *jhūkal* in Mr. Kirkpatrick's list, it should be noted that this word likewise presents a marked similarity with the European Gipsy word *jukel*, dog.

Such words appear to belong to the original vocabulary of the Kanjars, and many of them are no doubt unintelligible to outsiders. The case is a little different with the Arabic numerals which are used by the Kanjars of Belgaum, just as is the case with the Qasāis of the Panjab. The numerals in question will be found in the Standard List of Words and Sentences on pp. 180ff., and their Arabic origin is self-evident.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning of a word is often changed. Thus *kō* is prefixed in *kōhath*, hand (Sitapur) ; *kh* is prefixed or substituted for another initial in many cases. Compare *khachchā*, good ; *khakāl*, famine ; *khayārō-kē*, of the friends (Aligarh) ; *khamāl*, property (Kheri) ; *khāgēlē*, before ; *khādmī*, man ; *khawāj*, sound ; *khakkāl*, famine (Sitapur) ; *khandar*, inside ; *khūpar*, above (Belgaum). *Ch*, *chh* are apparently only prefixed to or substituted for labials ; compare *chibarwā-kū*, to fill (Aligarh) ; *chibrō*, big ; *chibhāi*, brother ; *chhūkā-sē*, from hunger ; *chhītar*, inside (Sitapur) ; *chait*, sit ; *chibaḍḍō*, big ; *chaulā-kē*, having called (Belgaum).

Cerebrals are used as disguising letters in words such as *ṭakhnī*, eye ; *ḍharīb*, poor ; *ḍhilāp*, against (Urdū *khilāf*) ; *ḍhusī*, merry (Sitapur) ; *ḍharrō*, big (Aligarh).

*N* only occurs as a substitute for *k* or *kh* in the texts. Compare *nēt*, field (Aligarh and Sitapur) ; *najaū*, man ; compare *kājarō* (Sitapur).

Labials do not appear to be much used in this way. Compare *pāḍō*, bull (Belgaum), which may be Tamil *māḍu* or Hindōstānī *sāḍ* ; *bēk*, one ; *baur*, and ; *birō*, that (Sitapur).

*R* is of more common occurrence. Compare *rakriā-kō rachchā*, a goat's young (Aligarh) ; *rahnāō*, put on ; *rarmēsūr*, God ; *rusāk*, cloth ; *riūchhis*, asked ; *ranāi*, make ; *rahut*, much ; *rūlak*, country ; *raṇjūrā-kū*, to the servants (Sitapur). In all these instances *r* has replaced an old labial. It is, however, occasionally also used instead of other sounds ; compare *ruāb*, answer ; *ramā*, together ; *rarsā-sē*, from years, all in the Sitapur texts.

An *l* is prefixed in *lakhāwsū*, I will say (Sitapur) ; *lakhārs*, said (Aligarh), and it has been substituted for an *n* in *likārō*, bring out.

Words are also disguised by means of additions at the end, and such additions are very common in Kanjarī, just as is the case in Dōm. Some of them such as *ō* and *r* have already been mentioned above. With regard to *r* I may add that it is also added after nouns and adjectives. Compare *gurārō*, foot ; *bhaiyārā*, brother (Aligarh) ; *chhutārō*, small ; *ṭhurārā*, few (Sitapur) ; *phalāri*, fruit (Belgaum). Several other additions are used, and most of them are well known from similar



argots. The principal ones are, so far as we can judge from the materials-available :—

*g* or *gh* is used in words such as *aogh*, come ; *liūghis*, took ; *haughē*, is (Sitapur) ; *gaugrō*, went (Belgaum). The initial consonant of the suffix *gir* (*ghir*) mentioned above is perhaps of the same kind.

An element *eṭō* or *ēthō* is comparatively often added. Thus, *papēṭō*, sin ; *malēṭhō*, property (Aligarh) ; *hattēṭō*, hand ; *khanēṭō*, food (Belgaum).

A dental has been added in words such as *ramtā*, pity (Sitapur) ; *chamakdē*, lustre ; *bahutdē*, many (Belgaum).

A common suffix is *ēlō* ; thus, *khatēlā-mē*, on the hand ; *batēlī*, words (Aligarh) ; *hisēlū*, share ; *papēlō*, sin (Sitapur) ; *khakēlē*, eye ; *jibēlī*, tongue (Belgaum). Instead of *ēlō* we also find *bēlō* and *hēlō* ; thus, *dubēlū*, two ; *tibēlū*, three ; *bap-hēlō*, father ; *bhus-hēlī*, chaff ; *chum-hēlō*, kissed, all in the Sitapur specimens.

The preceding remarks will be sufficient for removing the difficulties in the way of understanding the specimens of Kanjarī which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son received from the Sitapur district. It will be seen from the Parable and from the Standard List of Words and Sentences printed below on pp. 180ff. that there are comparatively few traces of the influence of Awadhī, the chief language of the district.

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[No. 30.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJIARĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SITAPUR.

Bēk najaū dubēlū chūbhā raughasā. Bithi-mā chhutārō bap-hēlā-sē  
*One man(-of) two sons were. Them-in small-one father-to*  
 lakhāmdō, 'bap-hēlū, merō hisēlū jō khujārā-sē niphre, sō tiūr.'  
*said, 'father, my share which property-from comes, that give.'*  
 Bihi baṭwār tiūris. Thurārā din-hēlā chhutārō chūbkō  
*He having-divided gave. Few days-in small son*  
 ramā-kar-kē rūlak chailō gaughirō, baur apnō malhēlō  
*together-having-made country(-to) moved went, and own property*  
 khurāo dīnhis. Jab sab khurāo tiūris, birō rōlkō barō khakkāl  
*wasted gave. When all wasted gave, that in-country big famine*  
 parghirō, baur dharib hō-gaō. Tab us rōlkō-mā bēk  
*fell, and poor becoming-went. Then that country-in one*  
 ralakh khādmī tīr raughan lagirō. Birō apnō nētū ghurghur  
*wealthy man near to-live began. He own field swine*  
 charāwnē paṭhais. Birō chaughirō bhus-hēlī jō ghurghur dūtā-dāī  
*to-feed sent. He wished husks which swine eating-were*  
 dūt-kē piṭ-hēlō bharighis. Nak-hēlū kōī na tiūris. Tab  
*having-eaten belly may-fill. But anybody not gave. Then*  
 khōsō ān-kē lakhāis, 'mērē bap-hēlā tīr ranjūrā-kū ṭipūī bahut  
*in-senses having-come said, 'my father near servants-to bread much*  
 rach-raughirī, baur māī chhūkā-sē lugdaū. Māī khunar-kē  
*saved-remained, and I hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen*  
 bap-hēlā tīr jaughisō, baur birō-sē lakhāwsū, "āī bap-hēlā, māī-nē  
*father near will-go, and him-to will-say, "O father, me-by*  
 khasmānō-kē dīlāp baur tērē khāgēlē papēlō karōghis; māī tērō  
*heaven-of against and of-thee before sin done-was; I thy*  
 chūbkō lakhāibāwālō nahī. Mōh-kū ranjūrā-kī nāī ranāi." ' Tab  
*son one-to-be-called not. Me servants-of like make." ' Then*  
 bihī apnō bap-hēlā tīr gaughirō. Abhaī woh durhēlū, birō-kē  
*he own father near went. Yet he far-was, his*  
 bap-hēlā tik-kē ramta kīnhis, baur rapaṭ-kē urō-kō dhalē  
*father having-seen pity did, and having-run him-to on-neck*  
 lagāī liūghis, baur rahut chumhēlō. Chūbkō kaughis, 'bap-hēlā,  
*attaching took, and much kissed. Son said, 'father,*

tērō dhunā kinhaũ, baur rarmēsūrō-kō dhunā kinhaũ; birā lāik-kō  
*of-thee sin I-did, and God-of sin I-did; now worthy*  
 nahĩ kī phir tērō chūbkō lakhāũ.' Bap-hēlā apnē  
*not that again thy son I-shall-be-called.' Father own*  
 nukarhēlā-kō lakhāis, 'achhī rusāk niphar liāō, baur urō-kū rahnāō;  
*servants-to said, 'good robe taking-out bring, and him-to put-on;*  
 urū-kē kōhathō-mā khāgūthī gurārā-mā gurārī rahnāō. Ham dutāĩ  
*him-of hand-on ring feet-on shoes put-on. We may-eat*  
 baur dhusī hōē. Mērō chūbkō lōgirō hurō-thō, ab jibbārō;  
*and merry may-be. My son dead become-was, now revived;*  
 khubbārō gaō-thō, ab milghirō.' Tab woh dhusī karnũ lagirō.  
*lost gone-was, now was-found.' Then they merry to-make began.*  
 Chibrō chūbkō nētō-mā hūdō. Jab ribō-kē nagich-hēlā aughirō,  
*Big son field-in was. When house-of near came,*  
 gabbāribō nach-hēlā-kī khawāj sunghirō. Baur bēk nukarhēlā-kō  
*music dancing-of sound heard. And one servant-to*  
 rulāo-kē riūchhis, 'yō kā haughē?' Wō us-sē lakhāis, 'tērō  
*having-called asked, 'this what is?' He him-to said, 'thy*  
 chibhāĩ aughirō; tērō bap-hēlā-nē baĩ rāfat kinhis, birā-rātē birō-kō  
*brother came; thy father-by big feasting made, this-for him*  
 khachchhō paughis.' Ruṭhwār raughirō chhītar jaughirō-na. Birō-kē  
*well found.' Angry got inside went-not. Him-of*  
 bap-hēlō chhābir ārō baur ranāũnō lagirō. Bap-hēlā-kū ruāb  
*father outside came and to-entreat began. Father-to answer*  
 tiūris, 'tigō, itnī rarsā-sē māĩ tērī dhiimit karũ; tērē dhuknō-kē  
*gave, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service do; thy order-of*  
 dhilāp na chalughē. Bēk rakariā-kā bachchā na tiūrō ki māĩ  
*against not went. One goat-of young-one not gavest that I*  
 apnē dhusēlā-kē sāth dhusī ranāūtō. Jaisē tērō chhuṭārō chūbkō  
*own friends-of with merry might-make. As thy young son*  
 ārō, jō tērō malhēlō dhasbiyā-mā khurāis, tū bunhā-kī baĩ  
*came, who thy property harlots-among wasted, thou him-of big*  
 rāfat kinhis.' Urū-kō ūr lakhāis, 'ai chūbkā, khamēsā tū mērē  
*feasting madest.' Him-to he said, 'O son, always thou of-me*  
 tīr hāis; jō mērō haughē, sō tērō haughē. Dhusī  
*near art; what mine is, that thine is. merry*  
 ranāē, dhusī hurū; tērō chibhāĩ lagirō-thō, sō jibbārō; khubbār  
*should-make, merry should-be; thy brother dead-was, he revived; lost*  
 gayō-thō. phir milghirō.  
*gone-was, again was-found.'*

A specimen of Kanjarī has also been forwarded from the Kheri District. It does not, however, represent any separate dialect, but is an attempt at writing ordinary Hindōstānī, as will be seen from the beginning of the Parable which follows.

[ No. 31.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KHERI.

Ēk bāpkē dō nēkrē thē. Lahaurē nēkrē-nē apnē bāp-sē  
*One father-of two sons were. Younger son-by own father-to*  
 kahā, 'ayē bāp, apnē khamāl wis-mē-sē mērā bāṭā dē, jō  
*it-was-said, 'O father, own property that-in-of my share give, which*  
 mērē bāṭē-mē āē.' Tab us-nē dōnō nēkrō-kō balwā bāṭi  
*my share-in may-come.' Then him-by both sons-to property dividing*  
 diyā. Aur lahaurē beṭē-nē apnā balwā lē-kar dūr-kē  
*was-given. And younger son-by own property having-taken far*  
 mulkā-mē jāta rahā aur apnā balwā haram khauri-mē  
*country-to going stayed and own property forbidden wickedness-in*  
 urāyā. Sab jab ur-gayā us mulkā-mē kāl pareō aur  
*squandered. All when squandered-went that country-in famine fell and*  
 woh hō gayā naṅgā. Us mulkā-mē ēk basindā-kē tīrē  
*he becoming went naked. That country-in one resident-of near*  
 jāi lagā. Us-nē usē sūr chugānē-kō khēt-mē  
*having-gone attached-himself. Him-by him pigs to-graze field-in*  
 ghulāyā. Apnē dilā-mē sōchā ki un chhulō-kō jō sūr khāilā  
*sent. Own heart-in thought that this husks which swine ate*  
 un-par pēt bharē; us-kō kōi khānē-kō dētā nahī thā. Apnē  
*those-on belly may-fill; him-to anybody eating-for giving not was. Own*  
 dilā-mē tab akal kiā ki, 'mērē bāpā-kē itnē ādmī rōṭi  
*heart-in then sense was-made that, 'my father-of so-many men bread*  
 khātē haī, aur maī bhūkhō martū-hū. Maī uṭhī-kē apnē  
*eating are, and I with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own*  
 bāpā-kē dhaurē jāū aur us-sē yeh kahaṅgrā-hū ki, "bāp rē,  
*father-of near may-go and him-to this saying-am that, "father O,*  
 maī-nē bādar aur tērā barā kasūr kariā. Is lāek hū ab  
*me-by sky and of-thee big sin was-made. This worthy am now*  
 nahī ki phir tērā bēṭā kahaṅgrā, ki bāp rē, itnē majūr  
*not that again thy son shall-say, that father O, so-many servants*  
 tērē lāgē haī, ēk mujhē bhī lāgi jān."'  
*thine appointed are, one me also appointing consider."'*

The Kanjari of Aligarh contains a strong Rājasthānī element. As has already been remarked there are, however, some features which seem to show the existence of a Dravidian element, while the *s*-suffix of the past tense points towards Eastern Hindi.

[ No. 32.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

## SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT ALIGARH.

Kinui-kā dō chūbkā thā. Irā-mē-sē chhōṭā-nē bāpō-sē  
*Some-one-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by father-to*  
kairs ki, 'bāpū, ittha-mē-sē tildē mērō.' Urō-nē duhī-kū  
*said that, 'father, property-in-from give mine.' Him-by both-to*  
baṭbār dīs. Thōrā dinā-mē chhōṭō baṭrō malēthō hikattḥō  
*having-divided gave. Few days-in small son property together*  
kairs, apnō libbār-kē par-dēs chalgurō gaigirō. Hūā phēlsūbī  
*made, own having-taken other-country moved went. There riotousness*  
kairs aur khārs pīrs urārs kharch-kar tilis; rabbārō na  
*did and ate drank squandered expended-making gave; remained not*  
kachhu. Tab hūā khakāl dharrō hurō. Dutābās taṅg hurō,  
*anything. Then there famine big became. Food scarce became,*  
pallē na rairō. Tab kinū bhagwānō-kē hillā-sir hūā  
*in-possession not remained. Then some rich-man-of employment-in there*  
jā lagirō. Urō-nē apnē nētā-mē ghurair chugānū bhijwārs.  
*going was-attached. Him-by own fields-in swine to-tend sent.*  
Wuī chāhdō thō, 'jin khaptā ghurair dūtdō thō wuī maī bī khā  
*He wishing was, 'which husks swine eating were those I all eating*  
ṭukhulō chibarwā-kū hundō.' Urā-kō kōi tildō rāy. Tab  
*belly filling-for am(-prepared). Him-to anyone giving not. Then*  
urō-kū khōs ā-gaō, tab urō-nē kairs ki, 'tigō ki mērā bāpō-kē  
*him-to sense came, then him-by said that, 'see that my father-of*  
bahutērā rahuā ṭipuiē dūtdaē aur chhūkarō papurdaū. Ab maī  
*many servants bread are-eating and hungry I-starve. Now I*  
chalgudaū bapētā-kē ṭhaur jāgsū aur urō-sē kalsū, "bapētā, maī-nē  
*am-going father-of near will-go and him-to will-say, "father, me-by*  
tērē āgē Bhagwānō-kō papētō kērō; ab maī tērō chūbkō kahwā  
*of-thee before God-of sin was-done; now I thy son to-say*  
lāk na rahrō. Apnā rahuā-kutauā-mē mō-kū rakhwāl-lō."'  
*worthy not am. Own servants-among me putting-take.''*  
Hūā-se wū chalgurō bāpō-kē ṭhaur augirō. Dārō-sē tigdē bapētā-kī  
*There-from he moved father-of near came. Far-from seeing father-of*  
chhātī bhariyārī, wūā-sē nipharrō, urō-kū garā-sē lagā lis aur  
*breast was-filled, there-from went, him-to neck-to clasping took and*

bahut chummī lis. Bāpō-sē baṭrā-nē kairsan ki, 'ē bāpū, tērō  
*many kisses took. Father-to son-by said-was that, 'O father, of-thee*  
 āgē Bhagwānō-kō papēṭō kērō; maī tērō chūbkō kahwā lāk na  
*before God-of sin was-done; I thy son to-say worthy not*  
 rahrō.' Tab bāpō-nē naukār-chākṛā-sē lakhārs ki, 'khachchā-mē  
*remained.' Then father-by servants-to said that, 'good-in*  
 khachchā ṭūpkā likārō aur irā-kū pēḍāwō; aur irā-kē khatēlā-mē  
*good clothes bring and him-to put-on; and him-of hand-on*  
 chhapēlī pēḍā til aur irā-kā guṛārā-mē guṛārīā dār til. Chalō,  
*ring putting give and him-of foot-on shoes putting give. Come,*  
 khusī karugasā, kit-kū-ki mērō jī baṭrō mar-gōgirō, phēr jī  
*merry we-shall-make, because my this son dead-gone-is, again alive*  
 parigurō; jī jaugadō rairō thō, phēr ā-gōgirō.' Aur sab khusī  
*fell; he lost remaining was, again came.' And all merry*  
 karnū lagirō.  
*to-make began.*

Urō ghariyē urō-kō baṛō baṭrō nētā-mē thō. Urō augirō aur jab  
*That at-time him-of big son fields-in was. He came and when*  
 ribō-kē ṭhaurē pahūchigirō, urō-nē gāwā-kō aur nāchwā-kō khabās  
*house-of near came, him-by singing-of and dancing-of sound*  
 sunigulis. Aur urō-nē ēkō nukreṭhā bulārs aur lakhārs ki, 'jī  
*was-heard. And him-by one servant called and said that, 'this*  
 kā hubbār rairī?' Aur urō-nē urō-sē jī lakhārs ki, 'tērō chhōṭō  
*what going-on is?' And him-by him-to this said that, 'thy small*  
 bhaiyarā bagadi augirō. Tērā bāpō-nē khātari karī-gursē, kit-kū-ki urō  
*brother returning came. Thy father-by feast done-was, because he*  
 achchhō nīkō ā-gōgirō.' Tab urō-kū ris ā-gōgirī; bithī-sē urō-kō bapēṭō  
*good well came.' Then him-to anger came; therefore him-of father*  
 ribō-sē likari-kē augadō rairō urō-kō manālō. Urō-nē bapēṭā-kū  
*house-from having-come-out come was him entreated. Him-by father-to*  
 ūtar dīs, 'tū bāp tigi, itnā barsā-sē maī-nē tērī khēbarī  
*answer was-given, 'thou father see, so-many years-from me-by thy service*  
 kērī; kabhai tērī batēlī ḍiraurī nā; tau-bī tē-nē ēk rakriā-kō  
*was-done; ever thy word was-broken not; still thee-by one goat-of*  
 rachchā mō-kū na tillō ki apnā khyārā-kē saṅg rauj urādō;  
*young-one me-to not was-given that own friends-of with merry might-make;*  
 pari jaisē jī tērō chūbkō ārō, irō-nē hurikiāpēchō-mē malēṭhō sab  
*but when this thy son came, him-by adultery-in property all*  
 urā dīs, tē-nē urō-kē linē patēlī dīnī.' Urō-nē  
*squandering gave, thee-by him-of for-the-sake feast was-given.' Him-by*



urō-sē lakhārs, 'ē chūbkā, tū sadā mērē ṭhaur rabbārō; jō mērē  
*him-to said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art; what of-me*  
 pasēlē hubbārē, sō sab tērō-ī hubbārē. Ham khusī karugsā, kit-kū-ki  
*near is, that all thine-only is. We merry shall-make, because*  
 tērō jī bhaiyarā marugirō, phēr jibbār-kē; aur jī jādō rairō,  
*thy this brother dead-was, again having-come-to-life; and he lost was,*  
 phēr ā-gōgirō.  
*again came.'*

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The specimens received from Etawah are essentially of the same kind as the preceding ones. Note, however, the future forms *jānō*, I will go; *kahnō*, I will say, and the greater admixture of Hindōstānī.

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[ No. 33.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

## SPECIMEN IV.

DISTRICT ETAWAH.

Kisi k̄ajārō-kē dō baṭrā thē. Ōchhō baṭrā-nē dā-sē kahī  
*Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to it-was-said*  
 ki, 'arē dā, bihārō-mē jō mērō rīkā hai, mērō dē-dē.'  
*that, 'O father, property-in which my share is, mine give.'*  
 Tab us-nē un-kō apnī bihārō bāṭ dīnā. Bahut din  
*Then him-by them-to own property having-divided was-given. Many days*  
 [na] hōgā kī ōchhō baṭrā sab kuchh ikatthā kar-kē dūsre  
*[not] became that small son all whatever together having-made other*  
 mulk-kō gawā aur apnī bihārō urāwā. Tab wā mulk-mē  
*country-to went and own wealth was-squandered. Then that country-in*  
 baṭō akāl pairō aur wah kaṅgāl hō gawā. Aur wā  
*big famine fell and he destitute becoming went. And that*  
 mulk-kē rahandō-mē-sē ēk-kī yahā rahan lagō, jis-nē usē apnē  
*country-of inhabitants-in-from one-of with to-live began, whom-by him own*  
 khētō-mē suar charān jādō. Aur un chhimiyo-sē jinhē suar  
*fields-in swine to-tend was-sent. And those husks-from which swine*  
 khātē thē apnō udrō bhar linhis, aur kōī na dēnē tō. Tab  
*eating were own belly filling took, and anybody not to-give was. Then*  
 usē chētany huē, tab wā-nē kahī ki, 'mērē dā-kē  
*to-him senses came, then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of*  
 kitnē majūrō-kō jāfat-sē baṭh rōṭī hōṭī hai, aur maī  
*how-many servants-to food-from more bread becoming is, and I*  
 bhūkhō maddō hū. Maī uṭh-kē apnē dā ḍhīg jānō aur  
*with-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own father near will-go and*  
 wā-sē kahnō ki, "hē dā, maī-nē baikunṭh-kē ultē āp-kē sūdhē  
*him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by heaven-of against you-of before*  
 pāp karō hai. Maī phir āp-kā baṭrā kahānē kām-kā nahī.  
*sin done is. I again your-Honour-of son to-be-called worthy not.*  
 Mujhē apnē majūrō-mē-sē ēk-kē barabbar karwā."  
*Me own servants-in-from one-of like make."*

The Farrukhabad specimens are also much mixed with Hindōstānī. Note also Pañ-jābī terminations such as *bich*, *vich*, in, and the doubling of consonants in words such as *laggā*, began. The general character of this form of Kanjarī will be apparent from a perusal of the short specimen which follows.

[No. 34.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

## SPECIMEN V.

DISTRICT FARRUKHABAD.

Ikk chōr kisū ghar-bich ghus-gayā aur andhērē-mā dhūdhnē laggā  
*One thief some house-in entering-went and darkness-in to-search began*  
 ki, 'kōi dāmō-dī chij hāth laggē, tō lai jāū.'  
*that, 'some value-of thing hand may-be-applied, then taking may-go.'*  
 Achchānak ikk sandūkh par thukkar laggī. Chōr-nē uṭṭhā  
*Suddenly one box on stumbling was-applied. Thief-by having-lifted*  
 liā. Sandūkh bhārī thā. Man-vich suchchā ki, 'ī-mā  
*was-taken. Box heavy was. Mind-in it-was-thought that, 'this-in*  
 māl huggā.' Ī-gal man-vich sōch ghar-sū bāhar āndā  
*property will-be.' This-matter mind-in thinking house-from out came*  
 aur ikk bagiyā-vich jhārī-dī ōṭ waṭh-kar kil-sū tallā khōlnē  
*and one garden-in bush-of behind having-sat-down nail-with lock to-open*  
 laggā ki, 'unā-dā māl nikāsū.' Ī kartā  
*began that, 'that-of property I-may-take-out.' This doing*  
 bājā-dī kōi kal chal-gai ji-sū bājā bājnē  
*musical-instrument-of some spring moving-went which-from instrument to-play*  
 laggā. Chōr-nē ḍar-dē mārē bājā paṭak-mārā aur sanūdē  
*began. Thief-by fear-of from instrument was-thrown-down and own*  
 jān lē-kar bhaggā. Ī bāg-dā māli chōr-dē paggān-dē  
*life taking fled. This garden-of gardener thief-of footstep-of*  
 āhaṭ-sē jaggā aur dēkhnē laggā ki, 'ī kē-gal hai?'  
*sound-from awake and to-see began that, 'this what-matter is?'*  
 Sarhi-dā jān parā ki jhārī-vich bājā-dē āwāj nikas  
*Him-of knowledge fell that bush-in instrument-of sound coming-out*  
 rahī hai. Tō ī-kō chōr-sē kam ḍar nahī laggā.  
*remaining is. Then this-to thief-from small fear not was-attached.*  
 Ḍar-dē mārē māli bhī utthē-sū bhuggā aur bāg-dē mālik-sē  
*Fear-of on-account gardener also there-from fled and garden-of owner-to*  
 ī-gal kaīndā ki, 'bagiyā-vich bhūt ā-gayō.' Ū-nē bagiyā  
*this-matter told that, 'garden-in spirit come.' Him-by garden*  
 ghēr-lāi aur jhārī-dē ōṭ khūsī karandā-hai.  
*was-surrounded and bush-of behind merriment made-is.*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A thief entered a house and began to search in the dark if he could find anything valuable. Suddenly he stumbled against a box, which he then carried away. The box was very heavy, and he thought that it might contain some property. Thus thinking he came out of the house and sat down behind a bush in a garden, and tried to open the lock with a nail in order to get at the property. By doing so he moved the spring of a musical instrument which then began to play. The thief got afraid, dropped the instrument and fled for his life. The gardener of the garden woke up from the sound of the thief's footsteps, and when he began to look into the matter, he found out that the sound of a musical instrument came out from the bush. He consequently became no less afraid than the thief. Therefore he fled and reported the matter to the owner of the garden, saying that a ghost had entered the garden. He had the garden surrounded and made a feast behind the bush.

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In Belgaum the speech of the Kanjars is known as Kanjarī. Its general nature has been described above, and the specimens which follow do not present any difficulties. The first is a version of the Parable, and the second a popular allegory about the Sun. A Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 180ff. It will be seen that some of the numerals registered in it are, as has already been remarked, Arabic.

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[ No. 35.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

## SPECIMEN VI.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan kâjarō-ku jaudō baidā handā. Unā-mā nunkō baidō  
*One man-to two sons were. Them-among younger son*  
 apanē bāpō-ku sidārō, 'bāpō, tērō jindgi-mā mērō ēwākō hissō  
*own father-to said, 'father, thy property-in mine coming share*  
 mau-ku kīdō.' Bāpō-nē unā-mā apani jindgi baṭwārrō. Nunkō  
*me-to give.' Father-by them-among own property divided. Younger*  
 baidō apani hissō lēwar-ko dūr gaū-kō nikhar-ko bahut din  
*son own share taking far village-to having-gone many days*  
 hōrā-nā ittā-mā ē dundī hōwār-ko apani jindgi sab  
*became-not this-much-in he riotous having-become own property all*  
 luṭwārrō. Ē aisō karwār-ko khūpar wō mulkō-mā chibaddō dukāl  
*wasted. He thus having-done after that country-in big famine*  
 girwār-ko urū-kī garibī awarri. Ē wō mulkō-mā ekkan  
*having-fallen him-of poverty came. He that country-in one*  
 kâjarā-kē pās naukrī rhairō. Wō kâjarō urō-ku ḍukrē charāwā-ku  
*man-of near in-service stayed. That man him swine feeding-for*  
 apani khētō-ku lagā-dinū. Whā bhūkō-dē talma-ko ḍukrē  
*own field-to employing-gave. There hunger-from having-suffered swine*  
 khāndāsō bhussō-bī thūr-ko pētō bharwār-lēndō, phir-tu urū-ku  
*eaten husks-even having-eaten belly filling-took, but him-to*  
 kirō-kē pās-dē kā-bī milwārō-nā. Aisō-ch thōḍā din  
*anybody-of near-from anything-even was-got-not. Thus few days*  
 hurā, apani pichawāḍkē batēli yād hōwār-ko ē apani  
*became, own former state remembrance having-become he own*  
 jī-mā dusārō, 'mērō bāpō-kē hyā aisā bahutdē naukrā-ku pētō  
*mind-in said, 'my father-of with so many servants-to belly*  
 bharwār-ko jāstī hōwār-ittō khanētō milwāddō; phir-tu hyā  
*having-filled excess becoming-so-much food is-got; but here*  
 māi-tō bhukā-dē mardū. Māi khuṭ-ko mērō bāpō-kē  
*I-on-my-side hunger-from dying-am. I having-arisen my father-of*  
 hyā nikhar-ko dusārō, "bāpō, māi mahābūb-kō pāp awar  
*there having-gone say, "O-father, I God-of sin and*

bāpō-kō pāp bandwār linō. Maĩ tērō baidō kar-ko bōl-lēwā-ku  
*father-of sin attaching took. I thy son saying to-be-called*  
 byādik-mā; mau-ku ekkan naukrō-kē sarikō tērō najik rakhwār-tē.””  
*worthy-not; me one servant-of like of-thee near keeping-take.””*  
 Ē whā-dē khut-ko \* apani bāpō-kē pās awardō, bāpō-nē urō-ku  
*He there-from having-arisen own father-of near coming, father-by him-to*  
 dūrū-dē dikhwār-ko mayā awar-ko bhagwār-nikhar-ko chaukaḍ-  
*far-from having-seen pity having-come running-going embrace-*  
 lē-ko chummā dinō. Tabi baidō bāpō-ku dusārō, ‘bāpō,  
*having-taken kiss was-given. Then son father-to said, ‘father,*  
 maĩ mahābūb-kā sambōr tērō sambōr takhsīr karō-hū. Mau-ku  
*I God-of before of-thee before sin . done-have. Me*  
 tērō baidō kar-ko dusār-nō-nā.’ Use bāpō-nē apanē naukrō-ku  
*thy son having-said to-be-said-not.’ That father-by own servants-to*  
 sidārō, ‘uñchō libās lawar-ko mērō baidā-ku pināw; uñgalya-mā  
*was-said, ‘high dress having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on*  
 aṅgōtī ḍalwārō, guṇḍālē-mā jūtā ḍalwārō; khanēṭā-kī tayārī  
*ring put, feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation*  
 karwār. Hamē thur-kō khuśāl hōwuṅgā. Kaikutu yō mērō  
*make. We having-eaten merry shall-become. Because this my*  
 baidō mar-gōdō, phir jān awarri; gawānde-gaudō, millō-hē.’ Yē  
*son died, again life came; lost-gone, found-is.’ This*  
 sunwār-ko sārā khuśāl hurā.  
*having-heard all merry became.*

Yē baktō-ku urō-kō chibaḍḍō baidō khētō-mā handō. Ē  
*This time-at his big son field-in was. He*  
 nandō-kē pās awarāsō baktō-mā urō-ku gāṇō awar raṅg sunwār  
*house-of near coming time-in him-to singing and dancing hearing*  
 awarrō. Ē naukar-mā-dē ekkan-ku chaulā-ko, ‘kā challō  
*came. He servants-in-from one-to having-called, ‘what going-on*  
 hē?’ dusār-ko puchwārō. Use ē sidārō, ‘tērō bhai  
*is?’ having-said asked. That-to he said, ‘thy brother*  
 awarō-hē, ē khuśī-de awar-ko pohacharō, urū-ko wāsdē tērō  
*come-is, he happily having-come arrived, him-of for-the-sake thy*  
 bāpō-nē khanēṭō karwārō-hē.’ Yō sunwār-ko urō-kō chibaḍḍō baidō  
*father-by feast made-is.’ This having-heard his big son*  
 khandar gaugrō-nā. Us wāsdē urō-kō bāpō-nē bhār awar-ko,  
*inside went-not. That for his father-by outside having-come,*  
 ‘khandar awar,’ kar-ko urū-ku bahut sidārō. Use ē apanē  
*‘inside come,’ having-said him-to much was-said. That-to he own*  
 q 2

bāpō-ku dusārō, 'maĩ itnā bars-laga tērō naukri karwār-ko kabī  
*father-to said, 'I so-many years-for thy service having-done ever*  
 tērō batēli tudwādō-nā. Phir-tō-bi maĩ mērō dōstaĩ-ku milwār-lē-ko  
*thy word broke-not. But I my friends-to having-collected*  
 khanētō karwār-ke wāsdē yō mau-ku ekkaṇ bakrā bī  
*feast making-of for-the-sake thou me-to one goat even*  
 dīnō-nā. Phir-tu rāṇḍaũ-ke sōbatī-mā paḍwād-ko tērō sārī jindgī  
*given-not. But harlots-of company-in having-fallen thy all property*  
 miṅgal-līnōdo yō tērō baidō nandō-ku ārō barōbar yō  
*having-devoured this thy son house-to coming immediately by-thee*  
 urō-ke wāsdē khanētō karwārō-hē.' Bāpō-nē baidā-ku dusārō,  
*him-of for-the-sake feast made-is.' Father-by son-to said,*  
 'yō mērō saṅgāt nit-rōj rahēndō. Mērō pās hē, sō sārī  
*'thou of-me with all-days art. My near is, that all*  
 tērī-ch hē. Mar-gausō tērō bhai, phir-ku jidē uṭrō hē;  
*thine-only is. Dead thy brother, again alive arisen is;*  
 gam-gaudō-sō, milwādō hē. Aisō hamē khuṣī hōwār-ku byādik hē.  
*lost-gone, found is. Thus we merry being-for proper is.'*

[No. 36.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARI.

## SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Baidō, maĩ kōn? mērō nām kā? urō-ku mālum hē kā? Maĩ  
*Boy, I who? my name what? you-to known is what? I*  
 agarib-dē āndū, awar maĩ ārō barōbar din nigarō. Yō utawā-ko  
*east-from come, and I come immediately day comes. You arising*  
 bakhat hurrō-to maĩ mērō sunnā-kē sarikō hattētō tērō khidkī-mā-dē  
*time comes-then I my gold-of like hand your window-in-from*  
 lambō karwār-ko yurō-ku uthāndū. Yō bichhānā-pō padwād rhaiko  
*stretched having-made you awaken. You bed-on falling remaining*  
 wāsdē maĩ āndū-nā. Yō utwār-ko nhawā-ku wāsdē kitāb padwā-ke  
*for I come-not. You having-risen to-bathe for books to-read*  
 wāsdē sāli-ku nikharwā-ke wāsdē maĩ āndū. Maĩ nīrō chalwārñewālō hñ.  
*for school-to to-go for I come. I good walker am.*  
 Maĩ rastō chalwār-ko asmān-mā phir-ko awarwā-ku ekkan din  
*I road having-walked sky-in returning coming-for one day*  
 hōnū. Maĩ kabī thagadū-nā, rahāt-bī-nā. Mērō śir-pō jhalak  
*becomes. I ever get-tired-not, halt-also-not. My head-on shining*  
 sunnā-ki tāj hē. Us-kī chamakdē maĩ chau-taraph phēkadū-hē.  
*gold-of crown is. That-of light I four-directions throwing-am.*  
 Niwāñi-pō nandā-pō dzhādā-pō mērō jhāl phailāndū. Mērō chamakdē girrōsō,  
*Water-on houses-on trees-on my rays spread. My light fallen,*  
 sab chijē khapsūrat awar rōśanī najar āndī. Maĩ yurō-ku ujālō dēndū,  
*all things beautiful and shining sight go. I you-to light give,*  
 awar dhūp bī maĩ-ch dēndū. Maĩ phalāri awar anāj pakāndū. Maĩ  
*and sunshine also I-alone give. I fruit and corn ripen. I*  
 asmānō-mā bahut khuñchō hñ. Sabī dzhādān-dē dōngarān-dē abar-dē  
*sky-in much high am. All trees-than mountains-than clouds-than*  
 maĩ khuñchō hñ.  
*I high am.*



## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Boy, do you know who I am and what my name is? I come from the east. The moment I come, the day breaks. When it is time for you to get up, I stretch forth my golden hand through your window and awake you. I don't come to see you lying in bed. I come that you should be up and bathe, read your books and go to school. I am a fast traveller. I take but one day to travel round the whole sky. I am never tired nor do I ever halt. I have a shining gold crown upon my head. I throw its light in all directions. I spread my rays over water, houses and trees. All things that are lit up by me look beautiful and brilliant. I give you light as well as heat. I ripen fruit and corn. I am very high in the sky. I am high up above trees, clouds and mountains.

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### KUCHBANDHĪ.

The Kuchbandhīs are a subdivision of the Kanjars. They make the *kūch*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, and also apply themselves to other of the usual occupations of the Kanjars. A specimen of the so-called Kuchbandhī dialect has been forwarded from the Bahraich District of the United Provinces, the principal language of which is Awadhī. The first lines of it will, however, be sufficient to show that this Kuchbandhī simply is a mixture of Awadhī and Rājasthānī of the same kind as ordinary Kanjarī. Note the genitive suffix *rō* and the word *gihar*, man. Some remarks about the argot of the Kuchbandhīs will be found in Mr. Kirkpatrick's paper quoted under Authorities above on p. 97. It is of exactly the same kind as the secret language of other Kanjars, and, like similar argots, it is called Pārsī, or, according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, Pāsī.

[ No. 37.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

KANJARĪ.

KUCHBANDHĪ DIALECT.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ēk gihar-kē dui baṭrā rahin. Arō-mā-tē chhōṭkawā baṭrū aprē  
*One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from younger son own*  
 bāpū-tē kahis ki, 'hē bāpū, kōhrī-mā jaun hamrō hīsā hōē  
*father-to said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be*  
 taun bāṭū dēō.' Tab-hī bāṭ dīnhō. Thōrē din bītrē  
*that dividing give.' Then dividing was-given. Few days passed*  
 chhōṭkawā baṭrū sab hīsā aprō jamā kīnhō ēk mulkō-rō  
*younger son all share own together made one country-of*  
 pardēsō chal gayō au uhā aprō mālō chalākī-mā urā  
*foreign-place going went and there own property wickedness-in wasting*  
 dīnhō. Jab kauṛī nahī rah gayō tabē ū mulkō-mā  
*was-given. When a-cowrie not remaining went then that country-in*  
 barō kāl pirō. Tab ū garīb hōnō lagrō aur ū mulkō-rō ēk  
*big famine fell. Then he poor to-be began and that country-of one*  
 basaiā-kō ghar kām karnō lagrō. Ū arō-kō ī kahis ki,  
*inhabitant-of in-house work to-do began. He him-to this said that,*  
 'khētan-mā suar char līāō.'  
*'fields-in swine tending take.'*

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## NAṬĪ.

The Naṭs are dancers, acrobats and prostitutes and they are found scattered over a wide area. Their total number as returned at the Census of 1911 was 126,428, distributed as follows :—

Number of Naṭs.	Assam . . . . .	5,143
	Bengal . . . . .	9,979
	Bihar and Orissa . . . . .	5,651
	Central Provinces and Berar . . . . .	11,385
	United Provinces . . . . .	68,376
	Central India Agency . . . . .	10,090
	Rajputana Agency . . . . .	8,447
	Elsewhere . . . . .	7,357
	<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>126,428</b>

**Name.** The name Naṭ is a Prakrit-Sanskrit word and means 'dancer,' 'actor.' It does not connote any definite tribe but comprises many different clans, who are only linked together by their common occupation. Numerous names of sub-tribes have been returned from the various districts. Thus we find Baisiyās and Banjārās in Mainpuri, Bēriyās in Etawah, Brijbāsīs, who state that they come from Braj, in Bahraich, Pahārī Bhābars in Rampur, Pastos, Tasmabāz, and so forth. This simply means that any tribe may be represented among the people acting as Naṭs.

**Language.** In such circumstances we cannot expect to find a separate language spoken by the Naṭs. In the information collected for the purposes of this Survey there figures a Naṭ language, returned under the name of *naṭō-kī bōlī*, with or without specifying additions such as Brijbāsī, Pastō, etc. The figures are as follows :—

Bengal . . . . .	4,584
Bhagalpur . . . . .	4,584
United Provinces . . . . .	6,950
Aligarh . . . . .	250
Mainpuri . . . . .	2,000
Etawah . . . . .	400
Bijnor . . . . .	1,000
Rampur . . . . .	300
Kheri . . . . .	2,500
Bahraich . . . . .	500
<b>TOTAL</b> . . . . .	<b>11,534</b>

The specimens received from the districts, however, show that there is no such dialect as Naṭī. The various clans classed together under the head of Naṭs speak the dialect of their neighbours. Like many other wandering tribes, however, they have a professional argot, made up by disguising ordinary words in the same way as in Criminal Sāsi. This argot has

Naṭ Argot.

nothing to do with grammar. The underlying dialect is either the ordinary vernacular or a mixture of forms derived from different dialects, such as we might reasonably expect in the mouth of travelling professionals who roam over a wide area and who are recruited from more than one tribe or clan. The specimens printed below will, however, show that the dialect of the Naṭs of the United Provinces contains an unmistakable admixture of Rājasthānī. Thus we find forms such as *baṭrā*, sons; *baṭrā-nē*, by the son, in addition to the regular *baṭrē-nē*, by the son; *gayō*, went; and *lilpā*, went, in Mainpuri, and so forth. Some few details will be mentioned later on. It therefore seems as if those Naṭs whose speech is represented in our specimens have come from or at least spent some time in Rājasthan. The specimens will, however, also show that these Rājasthānī features are too few and too little thoroughgoing to justify us in classing Naṭī as even a debased form of Rājasthānī. What is meant under the denominations *Naṭī* and *Naṭō kī bōlī* is not a definite dialect but the professional argot of the Naṭs.

As in the case of Sāsī the argot of the Naṭs contains several peculiar words such as *bōrā*, hoy; *būnā*, *chhaṭī*, water; *chhumkar*, day; *chilapnī*, go; *dīmnā*, *dūtnī*, eat; *gēm*, *gaīm*, thief; *kājā*, cultivator, squire; *kollā*, house; *khum*, mouth; *lagnā*, die; *lōd*, *nāḍ*, bull; *nāl*, night; *ṭiyārgū*, that (person or thing) concerned; *ṭōgnā*, drink; *ṭuṇḍā*, pig, and so forth. Most of such words are known from other argots and dialects such as Sāsī and cannot yet be explained etymologically. Some such terms taken down from the mouth of some Tasmabāz residents of Cawnpore have been printed on pp. 314-316 of the *Selections from the Government Records North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. i. 1862.

The great majority of Naṭī slang words, however, have been taken from the common Aryan vocabulary of Northern India. To prevent outsiders from understanding them, they are then disguised in the same way as in the argot of the Sāsīs and others. One and the same word can be made unrecognizable in several ways and accordingly assume many different forms.

I have not noted any certain instances of mere transposition. Compare, however, *khum*, mouth (Bijnor); *chūbhkā* = *bachchī*, young (Mainpuri).

The prefixing of a consonant, which then often supersedes an old initial, on the other hand, is very common.

A *k* is prefixed in forms such as *kōṭ*, eighth (Rampur); *kōdmī*, man; and substituted for an initial *b* in *kāṭ*, share (Mainpuri). *Kh* is much more common. Compare *khi-mālai*, property; *khimērā*, my; *khandar*, inside; *khakāl*, famine; *khōṭū*, small; *khin*, day; *khētai*, belly; *khaināi*, having put on; *khād*, after; *khujhē*, me (all from Mainpuri); *khachchī*, water; *khunaddī*, river; *khapānī*, water; *khablā*, big one, Sir; *khabhēṭiā*, wolf (all from Bijnor); *khanēṭ*, belly (Rampur), and so forth.

*Ch* is substituted for an old labial in words such as *chakar*, seize, Hindōstānī *pakar*; *khacholtē*, speaking, cf. Hindōstānī *bō'nā*, in the Bijnor specimens. *Chh* is similarly used in words such as *chhūkal*, hungering; *chhulk* = *mulk*, country (Mainpuri); *chhōd* = *bahut*, much (Rampur), etc. The soft palatals are also used as substitutes for labials in *jaṭūp* = *bāṭā*, share; *jaṭā* = *baṭā*, big (Rampur); *jhurā* = *burā*, evil; *jhaiyā* = *bhaiyā*, brother (Mainpuri), but also in cases such as *jhēk*, one; *jhakāl*, famine (Bhagalpur).

Of dental substitutes we may note *thāmnē* = *sāmnē*, before (Rampur), and the frequent use of *n*, *nh*; thus, *nēt* = *khēt*, field; *nāttī* = *chhātī*, breast; *nautāj* = *mohtāj*, wanting; *namā* = *samā*, together (Mainpuri); *nīchhē* = *pīchhē*, after; *nanmēśwar* = *parmēśwar*, God; *nāth* = *sāt*, seven; *nū* = *tū*, thou; *nē* = *thē*, were; *nhē* = *chhē*, six (Rampur), and so forth.

Of labials we may note, *ph* in *phēr*, three (Rampur); *b* in forms such as *bēg*, one; *bithē*, to him (Mainpuri); *bōr* = *aur*, and; *būkī*, watchman (Rampur); and *m* in words such as *mahā* = *kahā*, said; *myō* = *kyū*, why? *māhtā* = *chāhtā*, wishing; *miār* = *pyār*, love; *māt* = *bād*, after, and so forth in the Mainpuri specimens. The form *marluk*, dead, is probably of another kind, the base *mar* being prefixed to the base *lug*, to die. In some of the Mainpuri specimens the old initial which has been replaced by *m* is subsequently added at the end of the word; thus, *mētkhē* = *khēt*, field; *musikkhē* = *khusī*, merry; *mōṭāchhē-nē* = *chhōṭē-nē*, by the younger one; *mēlēbē* = *bēlē*, sons; *māpbē* = *bāp*, father; *mērātē* = *tērā*, thy; *muarsē* = *sūar*, swine, and so forth.

Of other substitutes we may note *l* in *lilpā* = *chalā*, went; *lalchālī* = *badchālī*, bad conduct (Mainpuri); *r* in *rān* = *kān*, ear; *rahat* = *khēt*, field (Rampur); *rōṭka* = *chhōṭā*, small; *rabṭhō* = *sab*, all (Bhagalpur), and so on. *R* is also used instead of *g* in the List of Words and Sentences from Rampur printed below on pp. 180ff., in the word *tiyārgī rāē*, cow, where *rāē* corresponds to Hindōstānī *gāe*, while *tiyārgī* is a pronoun meaning 'that thing just mentioned.'

As in the case of other argots we also find words disguised by means of additions at the end. Note forms such as *khētai* = *pēt*, belly; *khimālai* = *māl*, property (Mainpuri); *labā* = *lab*, direction (Bijnor), and several consonantal additions. Such are, *k* and *g* in forms such as *kaugā* and *kōkā*, said; *gaugā*, went; *raugā*, stayed; *paugā*, got (Mainpuri); *ch* and *j* in *hōchā*, was (Rampur); *kujā*, made (Bijnor); cerebrals in forms such as *lagāḍnā*, to apply (Bijnor); *lugāṛnā*, to beat (Rampur); *puchhwārō*, asked (Mainpuri); *t* in forms such as *khabāptā*, father (Etawah); *p* in verbs such as *deppō*, give; *lilpā*, went; *līgpāi*, applying; *karpā*, made (Mainpuri), and so on. Note also *dhūr* = *dō*, two; *bāpsā-kē*, of the father (Rampur); *kūlnā*, to do, and the curious forms *jālurnā*, go; *ālurnā*, come (Mainpuri); *ālre*, came (Rampur); *jāsurtā*, going (Rampur); *āsrā*, came (Bijnor), and so forth.

It will be seen from the figures given above on p. 121 that most speakers of Naṭī in the United Provinces have been returned from the western part of the Province, from Etawah in the south to Bijnor in the north. We are comparatively best informed about the state of affairs in Mainpuri. There are several tribes in the district who make use of the Naṭ slang, such as the Baisiyās, the Banjārās, the Habūras, the Kanjars and the Kalabāz. The base is apparently everywhere the current Hindōstānī dialect with a tissue of Rājasthānī. This element has not been organically mixed up with the underlying Hindōstānī, but Rājasthānī forms are occasionally used side by side with the ordinary ones. Thus we find instances of the nominative in *ō*, the oblique base in *ā* and the plural in *ā* of strong masculine bases; compare *rajēṭṭō chīndā hoichchō*, there was a rich man, but commonly forms such as *jhayā baṭrā hoichchā*, the big son was (in the fields); *baṭrā-nē* and *baṭrē-nē*, by the son; *ḍhōr baṭrā hoichchē*, there were two sons, and so forth. The version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son which follows well illustrates this form of speech. It has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā.

[ No. 38.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ (BAISIYĀ).

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Bēg rajēttē-kē dhōr baṭrā hoichehē. Uthī-mē-thī khōṭē baṭrā-nē  
*One man-of two sons were. Them-in-from small son-by*  
 chhūarā-thī kaugā ki, 'ēyō chhūarā, khimālai-kā khissā khimērā  
*father-to it-was-said that, 'O father, property-of share mine*  
 hoichehā hai thō khujhē deppī deppō.' Tō tabī uthī-nē khimālai-kī  
*becoming is that me having-given give.' And then him-by property-of*  
 kāt kullī deppā. Thōrē khinō-kē khād khōṭē baṭrē-nē sabī  
*shares having-made was-given. Few days-of after small son-by all*  
 kuchh namā kull-kē bēg dūr-kī khulk-kō līpā. Wahā khapnā  
*whatever together having-made one distant country-to went. There own*  
 khimālai kuchālī khurāē deppā. Aur jabī sabī  
*property in-bad-conduct having-wasted was-given. And when all*  
 hoichehī gaugā uthī khulk-mē jharā khakāl hoichehā, aur wah  
*having-ceased went that country-in big famine became, and he*  
 nautāj hoichehī gaugā. Tabī uthī khulk-kā bēg rajēttō chīndā  
*in-want having-become went. Then that country-of one man rich*  
 hoichehō, jithī-kē wah ligpī jālurā. Aur uthī-nē uthī-kō khapnē  
*was, whom-of he employed went. And him-by him own*  
 nētō-mē ṭaundā dimānē-kō khutāi deppā. Aur wah lūṭā  
*fields-in swine feeding-for having-sent was-given. And he dying*  
 hoichehā ki uthī chhilkō-thē jō ṭaundā dīmmatā hoichehā, khapnā  
*became that those husks-from which pig eating was, own*  
 khētai jharī leppē, kī kōi uthē deppatā khatī hoichehā.  
*belly having-filled may-take, as anyone him giving not was.*  
 Jabī khōs-mē ālurā, kaugā, 'khimērē chhūarā-kē khitnē kōdmī  
*When sense-in came, it-was-said, 'my father-of so-many men(-to)*  
 tāwalī hoichehatī hai; māi chhūkāl lūṭā hū. Māi khuth-kē khapnē  
*bread becoming is; I by-hunger dying am. I having-arisen own*  
 chhūarā pās līpūgā aur uthī-thē kaugūgā ki, "ēyō chhūarā, māi-nē  
*father near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by*  
 khagās-kā aur tērā jhurā kullā; abī ithī nāik khatī rahyō hoichhū  
*heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this fit not remained am*

ki tērā baṭrā kaugī deppī jālurō. Khujhē khapnē  
*that thy son having-said having-given I-may-go. Me own*  
 kōdmi-mē-thē bēg-kī nāfik khaṇāi leppō.”” Tabī khuth-kē khapnē  
*men-in-from one-of like having-taken take.”” Then having-arisen own*  
 chhūarā pās lilpā. Aur wah abī dūr hoichchā ki uthī-kō naukhtē  
*father near went. And he yet far was that him seeing*  
 khī uthī-kē chhūarā-kō miār ālurā, aur lilp-kē uthī-kō nātti-thē  
*immediately him-of father-to love came, and having-gone him breast-to*  
 ligpāi leppā aur uthī-kē khitnē khīṭā leppī leppā.  
*having-clasped was-taken and him-of so-many kisses having-taken were-taken.*  
 Baṭrē-nē uthī-thī kaugā ki, ‘ēyō chhūarā, maī-nē khagās-kā aur  
*Son-by him-to it-was-said that, ‘O father, me-by heaven-of and*  
 tērā jhurā kūllā, aur khatī ki phir tērā baṭrā kōī kaugē.’  
*of-thee sin was-done, and it-is-not that again thy son anyone may-call.’*  
 Chhūarā-nē khapnē kōdmiyō-thī kaugī deppā ki, ‘chindā chindā  
*Father-by own men-to having-said it-was-given that, ‘good good*  
 tūpkē leppī ālurō, aur uthī deppī deppō; aur uthī-kī  
*clothes having-taken come, and to-him having-given give; and him-of*  
 khaṅguri-mē khaṅgūṭhī aur uthī-kē pāw-mē rēwriyā khaināi deppō; aur  
*finger-on ring and him-of feet-on shoes having-put-on give; and*  
 hamī dīmmē aur nusi khaṇāē ki yah mērā baṭrā lugi jālurā  
*we may-eat and merry may-make as this my son having-died gone*  
 hoichchē, thō chindā ālurā; hurā bī khatī hoichchē jānē kiyā  
*was, he alive came; anywhere even not is to-know where*  
 gaugī rā, abī ālurā hoichchē.’ Tabī nusi kūllnē raugā.  
*having-gone stayed, now come is.’ Then merry to-make began.*

Aur uthī-kā jharā baṭrā nētō-mē hoichchā. Jabī khakān-kē-tē ālurā  
*And him-of big son fields-in was. When house-of-near came*  
 aur khinch-kī khawāj namjā, tabī bēg kōdmi-kō kaugā ki, ‘yē  
*and dancing-of sound was-heard, then one man-to it-was-said that, ‘this*  
 kyā hoichchā hai?’ Aur uthī-nē bithē kaugā ki, ‘tērā jhaiyā  
*what become is?’ And him-by to-him it-was-said that, ‘thy brother*  
 ālurā hoichchē, aur tērē chhūarā-nē jharī chindī dīmmnā-kō kūllā hai ki  
*come is, and thy father-by very good feasting-for made is as*  
 bithē chindā ālurā naukhā.’ Uthī-nē kiṭṭhā hoichchī gaugā ki  
*him well come was-seen.’ Him-by angry having-become went that*  
 bith khakān-kē khandar khatī jālurē. Tabī uthī-kē chhūarā-nē biyā-thē  
*that house-of inside not will-go. Then him-of father-by there-from*  
 ālur-kē uthī namjāyā. Uthī-nē chhūarā-thī cheotō-mē kauga,  
*having-come him it-was-entreated. Him-by father-to answer-in it-was-said,*



‘naukh, itnē baras-thē maĩ tēri nidmat kulltā hoichchũ, aur khad ī  
‘see, so-many years-from I thy service doing am, and ever  
tērē kaugnē-thī khattī khatī kullā, ki tū-nē khadī bēg khakriyā-kā  
thy order-from no not was-done, that thee-by ever one she-goat-of  
chūbkā khujhē khatī deppā, ki khapnē khiyāwrō-kē saṅgī nusi  
young-one to-me not was-given, that own friends-of with merry  
kullnō. Aur jab tērā yah batrā ālurō jithī-nē tērā khimālāi  
to-make. And when thy this son came whom-by thy property  
rajēttiyo-mē khurāi deppā, tū-nē uthī-kē māthtē jharī  
women-among having-wasted was-given, thee-by him-of for-the-sake very  
chindā dimmnē-kō kullā.’ Uthī-nē uthī kaogā, ‘ēyō batrē, tū  
good feasting-for was-made.’ Him-by to-him it-was-said, ‘O son, thou  
sadā mērai pās hoichchā hai, aur jō-kuchh mērā hoichchē, thē tērā  
always of-me near become art, and whatever mine is, that thine  
hoichchē. Ki nusi hōnā nājim hoichchē ki tērā yah jhāiyā lugā  
is. But merry to-be proper is as thy this brother dead  
hoichchā, thē chindā ālurā; aur hurā bī khatī hoichchā, thē abī  
was, he well came; and anywhere even not was, he now  
ālurā hoichchē.’  
come is.’

The specimen which follows represents the same kind of Hindōstānī mixed with Rājasthānī. Compare Rājasthānī forms such as *khūs-kō bayō mēṭābē* (i.e. *bēṭā*), his younger son; *māpbai*, i.e. *bāpai*, by the father; *mājūrā-kō*, to the servants; *bhayō-chhā*, had become; *rauchhũ*, I remain; *mahō* and *mahā*, said, and so on. Most forms are, however, ordinary Hindōstānī. The specimen has been taken down from the mouth of a Baisiyā. It differs from the preceding one in the common practice of suffixing the original initial of disguised words; thus, *mānēgā=gānē*, singing; *mūtājū=jūtā*, shoe, and so forth.

[ No. 39.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BAISIYĀ).

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Khēk makassē dōs mēṭēbē thē. Un-mā-sē mōṭāchhē-nē  
*One man-to two sons were. Them-in-from younger-by*  
 mahā, 'māpbē, khimāl-kā khissā khimērā mujhē dē.' Tab  
*it-was-said, 'father, property-of share mine to-me give.' Then*  
 us-nē khimāl unhē māṭī diyā. Thōrai din-kē māt  
*him-by property to-them dividing was-given. Few days-of after*  
 mōṭōchhē mēṭēbē sab-kō mahāj kar-kē khēk dūr-kī chhulak-kō  
*younger son all together having-done one distant country-to*  
 mupērsē kiya. Wahā apnā māl ladchālī khurpāyā.  
*journey was-made. There own property in-bad-conduct was-squandered.*  
 Jab sab mir-chukā-kir-chukā us chhulak-mē barā khakāl parā.  
*When all had-been-wasted-away that country-in big famine fell.*  
 Khus chhulak-mē khēk khirais-kē yahā khajā lagā.  
*That country-in one squire-of place having-gone was-employed.*  
 Khus-nē khusē khapnē mētkhē muarsē charāban gōchū. Wah  
*Him-by him own in-fields swine to-feed it-was-sent. He*  
 māhtā thā khi khun mirkāchhē jō muarsē matēkhē, apnā  
*wishing was that those husks which swine eat, own*  
 maiṭayai bharē, khi kōi khusē na dētā thā. Jab  
*belly may-fill, that anyone him not giving was. When*  
 hōsh-mē bhayō-chhā, mahā ki, 'merē māpbē-kē mājūrā-kō  
*sense-in become-had, it-was-said that, 'my father-of servants-to*  
 bahut kharōṭī haī. Khimaī bhūkhō martā hū. Khimaī  
*much breads are. I with-hunger dying am. I*  
 khuth-kē apnē māpbē-kē pās jāūgā aur khusē kahūgā, "ai  
*having-arisen own father-of near will-go and to-him will-say, " O*  
 māpbē, khāsmān-kā khaur mērātē munāgai kiya; ab is  
*father, heaven-of and of-thee sin was-done; now this*  
 lāik naithū rōchhū khi tērā mēṭābē kahlāyū; mujhē apnē  
*fit not am that thy son may-be-called; me own*  
 mājūrā-mē khēk-sā banā." ' Tabkhī khuth-kē apnē māpbē-kē  
*servants-in one-like make." ' Then having-arisen own father-of*

pās gayō-chhū. Wah abhi khudūr hatō, khusē lakh-kē  
*near went. He yet far was, him having-seen*  
 khus-kē māpbē khirahm bhayō ; khidaur-kē usai malēgē  
*him-of to-father pity became ; having-run him to-neck*  
 khilagāī layō aur bahut khimōmāchē. Mēṭēbē-nē khus  
*having-clasped was-taken and much kissed. Son-by to-him*  
 kōkā, ' ai māpbē, mē-nē agās-kā aur khitērē-kā munāgai  
*it-was-said, ' O father, me-by heaven-of and thee-of sin*  
 kiya ; is kabil naithū rauchhū ki tērā mēṭābē  
*was-done ; this worth not am that thy son*  
 kahlāyū.' Māpbai apnē nōkarō-kō mahā ki,  
*I-may-be-called. By-the-father own servants-to it-was-said that,*  
 ' achchhi achchhi mōsākayē khinikās lāō, usē mabdhāē  
*' good good dresses having-taken-out bring, him putting-on*  
 dō, khus-kē khāth-mē khaṅgūthī aur mābyē-mē mūtājū mabdhāē  
*gave, him-of hand-on ring and foot-on shoes putting-on*  
 dō, aur ham musikhē manāē, myō-ki mērō mēṭābē islūk  
*gave, and we merry may-make, because my son dead*  
 gayō hatō, ab mujī gayō ; mōkhāē gayō, ab milē gayō.  
*gone was, now alive went ; lost went, now found went.'*  
 Tab wē musikhē karnē lagē.  
*Then they merry to-make began.*

Khus-kō baṛō mēṭābē mēṭakhē-mē hatō. Jab marghē-kē  
*Him-of big son field-in was. When house-of*  
 nazdik āyō mānēgā aur ginchō-bartō-kī awāz sulpi.  
*near came singing-of and dancing-of sound was-heard.*  
 Tab khēk khinōkar bulākē puchhwārō ki, ' yah kai  
*Then one servant having-called it-was-asked that, ' this what*  
 hai ? ' Khus-nē khusē mahō ki, ' tērā mabhāī āyō ;  
*is ? ' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, ' thy brother came ;*  
 hus-kī tērā māpbē-nē baṛī māfat karī, is liyē ki  
*him-of thy father-by big feast was-made, this for that*  
 bhalō maṅgōchi pāyō.' Mussā kī, na chāhā khandar  
*good sound was-got. Anger was-made, not wished inside*  
 ki jāē. Tab khus-kē māpbē-nē khimanpāyā. Khun-nē  
*that may-go. Then him-of father-by was-remonstrated. Him-by*  
 bāp-nē jāwāb mēlō ki, ' lakh, itnē marashē tērī  
*father-to answer was-given that, ' see, so-many years thy*  
 mijbat karpātō, khabhū tērē khukm-kē mubarkhilāf na chalē.  
*service doing-was, ever thy order-of against not went.*

Tū-nē kabhi khaik makarbī-kā bachchā na diyā ki  
*Thee-by ever one goat-of young-one not was-given that*  
 apnē mōstdē-kē māsthē musikhē manāyũ. Jab yah mēṭābē  
*own friends-of with merry might-make. When this son*  
 tērā āyō jā-nē tērā māl mēshyāē-mě urāyō, tū-nē  
*thy came whom-by thy property harlots-among was-wasted, thee-by*  
 khus-kē liyē barī māftaj karpī. Khus-nē khus-sē  
*him-of sake-for big feast was-made. Him-by him-to*  
 lōpī, 'ai mēṭēbē, tū sadā mērē māsyai hai, aur  
*it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and*  
 jō-kuchh mērā hai sō khitērā hai. Khimusikhē manānā  
*whatever mine is that thine is. Merry to-make*  
 khususkhē hōnā marūrjē thā, myũ-ki tērā yah mabhāi marluk  
*happy to-be necessary was, because thy this brother dead*  
 gayō, sō mijiyāō ; aur mukhāē gayō thō, sō ab milyō  
*went, he revived ; and lost gone was, he now found*  
 hai.  
*is.'*

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A third specimen from the Mainpuri District, which has been forwarded under the head of Naṭī, is of the same kind as the preceding one. It contains the statement of a Naṭ about a theft.

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[ No. 40.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

## SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT MAINPURI.

Mōrich bhai; us-mē khaik mutiwā gaō chhō. Khaik mariwa  
*Theft was; that-in one kettle lost was. One jug*  
 gai chhē. Dō gamāri thē gaiē. Phir mānēthē-mē gayā.  
*lost was. Two plates were gone. Then police-station-in went.*  
 Mē-nē rapat karpī jāi mānathdār āyā likh  
*Me-by report having-made having-gone police-officer came writing*  
 likhāē-kē, phir marōgādī khapnē mānēthē-kō chalē  
*having-caused-to-be-written, then the-inspector own station-to moved*  
 gayē. Kachhlik nāyī mil-āyō. Marōgādī-kai māsthē chār sipāhi  
*went. Anything not being-found-came. Inspector-of with from soldiers*  
 tīn maukīchdār āyē thē. Mandrah wā sōlāh khādmī marōgādī-nē  
*three watchmen come were. Fifteen or sixteen men inspector-by*  
 khikkitthē karpē tamānā-kī talāshī layī ki, 'is naṭ-kī  
*collected were-made house-of search was-taken that, 'this naṭ-of*  
 mōrich hō gai yā nāhī.' Khaik khādmī-nē un-mē-sē  
*theft having-become went or not.' One man-by them-in-from*  
 mahā ki, 'mē-rē mōrich kartē mēkhādē thē.  
*it-was-said that, 'me-by theft doing seen were.*  
 Makashbāy-sē miwāldē-māi khaidī phāi dayō,  
*Instrument-for-house-breaking-by wall-in hole having-broken was-given,*  
 us wakat gaimī karpāt thē, sō bāli bachchē jag parpāi.  
*that time theft doing were, then young children awaking got-up.*  
 Tab gaim bhāj gayē.' Mānathdār-nē mērā khinsāf nahī  
*Then thieres running-away went.' Police-officer-by of-me justice not*  
 kiya. Tabkhi mē-nē khidiptī sāhab-kō yahā kharjī dai.  
*was-done. Then me-by deputy sahib-of with petition was-given.*  
 Tab khidiptī sāhab-nē magwāh bulyāē aur khun-kā izhār  
*Then deputy sahib-by witnesses were-called and them-of statement*  
 paugā, 'sach lōpat ki mōrich bhāi ki nāhī bhāi.' Khimaī  
*was-got, 'truth tell that theft was or not was.' I*  
 bilkulkhi luṭ gayō. Khajūr mērā khinsāf nāhī karēgē,  
*wholly robbed went. Your-Honour of-me justice not will-make,*  
 tō māi mar jāūgā.  
*then I dying shall-go.*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A theft has been committed, and one kettle, one jug, and two plates have been stolen. I went to the police station, and made a report. The police officer wrote it down. Then the Inspector went to his station. Nothing had been found. Four police soldiers and three watchmen had come with the Inspector. The Inspector then collected fifteen or sixteen men and searched the house to find out if a theft had been committed in my house or not. One of them said that he had seen the thieves at work. The wall had been broken by an instrument, and while they were stealing, the children woke and got up. The thieves then ran away. The police officer, however, did not do me justice, and so I filed a petition with the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner called witnesses and took their statement, asking them to tell the truth whether a theft had been committed or not. I have been totally robbed, and if your Honour will not do justice to me, I shall die.

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The slang of the Nats of the Etawah district is of the same kind as that used in the neighbouring Mainpuri. Thus we find *bōhrā*, son, as in Hindōstānī, but *bōhrā*, sons, as in Rājasthānī, and so forth. It will be enough to print the beginning of a version of the Parable as illustration of this mixed speech.

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**Abstract**

[No. 42.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

## SPECIMEN V.

STATE RAMPUR.

Bīk kudmī-kē dhōr nīklē rahlē. Khalōhrā-nē bāpsā-sē  
*One man-of two sons were. Younger-by father-to*  
 kūkā ke, 'bāpsā, khaṭum-kā jaṭup mōhē dīp-dēō.' Bōr  
*it-was-said that, 'father, property-of share me-to give.' And*  
 bappā-nē dīp-diyā. Nihōrgā khadin nīchhē khalōhrā nīklē-nē chhōd  
*father-by was-given. Few days after younger son-by much*  
 bīkhtā kōrlā bōr khadūr-kē nīdhwā-kū gōghā bōr khaṭum  
*together was-made and distance-of country-to went and substance*  
 bīnālī-nē rahaṛch hupī gōkī. Phin ōh nīdhwā-kē bīk  
*riotousness-in spent becoming went. Then that country-of one*  
 khamīr-kē rōhlē gōghā. Ōh-nē rahtō-nē ṭuṇḍā nukānē rahlē.  
*rich-man-of house went. Him-by fields-in pigs to-graze was-sent.*  
 Bōr ōhē khapiā rahli ke ōh kōbō-sē jō ṭuṇḍā dudhtē  
*And his desire was that those husks-from which pigs eating*  
 haī āpan khanēt thēklē. Phin ōh-nē kūkā ke, 'mōhrē bāpsā-kē  
*are own belly may-fill. Then him-by it-was-said that, 'my father-of*  
 chhīntē haī; uhaī ṭāoli haī; bōr mēh chhukā lugtā hū.  
*servants are; to-them breads are; and I hungry dying am.*  
 Mēh āpan bāpsā-kē ḍhigē chilpūngā bōr ōh-sē kukūngā ke,  
*I own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that,*  
 "bāpsā, mēh-nē ākās bōr tōhrē thāmnē rasōr kēlī;  
*"father, me-by heaven and of-thee before sin was-made;*  
 ab mōhē āpnē chhīntē sāhī karbō." " Ōh bāpsā-kē  
*now me own servant like make." " He father-of*  
 ḍhigē chilpā. Bōr ōh khadūr rahlē ke ōhē nūkh-kar  
*near went. And he far was that him seen-having*  
 ōh-nē bāpsā-kū mōh āyā, bōr khaṭēng-kē ōhē rīchhā  
*his father-to affection came, and having-run his neck*  
 lagē-liyā bōr chhōd rilchhā kīlī. Bōr bāpsā āpan  
*was-clasped and much caressing was-made. And father own*  
 chhīntō-sē kūkā ke, 'kuchhē kuchhē rīprē lēp-āō bōr  
*servants-to it-was-said that, 'good good clothes bring and*



ōhē nēhr-lāō, bōr ōh-kē khūt-nē ũṭhī bōr gōnā-nē gōhnī nēhr-lāō;  
*him put-on, and him-of hand-on ring and feet-on shoes put-on;*  
 bōr ham dutē bōr rusī rōhōpō, ke mährā nīklā  
*and we may-eat and merry may-be, that my son*  
 lugā rahā, phin khājīri gōghā hai; khajātā rahlā, phin khamlā  
*dead was, again alive gone is; lost was, again found*  
 hai.' Bōr ōh rusī rōhpō lāgē.  
*is.' And they merry to-be began.*

Bōr ōh-kā jarā nīklā rahat-nē rahā. Jab rōhlē-kē ḍhigē  
*And him-of big son field-in was. When house-of near*  
 āyā ' bōr khēchnē-kī chur nōhnī. Bik chhīntē-nu  
*came and dancing-of sound was-heard. One servant-to*  
 kūkā ke, ' ē hūp hai? ' Ōh-nē ōh-sē kūkā, ' tōhrā  
*it-was-said that, ' this what is? ' Him-by him-to it-was-said, ' thy*  
 bhaotā āyā hai, bōr tōhrē bāpsā-nē jarī dutnā kēli.' Ōh-nē  
*brother come is, and thy father-by big feast was-made.' Him-by*  
 rūṣē hupī gōghā khapiyānā ke rōhlē na chilpē. Ōh-kē  
*angry becoming went it-was-wished that house not may-go. Him-of*  
 bāpsā-nē khabāhar chilap-kar khamnāyā. Ōh-nē bāpsā-sē  
*father-by outside having-gone it-was-remonstrated. Him-by father-to*  
 kūkā, ' nūkh, chhōd khadin hupī gaē ke tōhrī khamētī  
*it-was-said, ' see, many days having-become went that thy service*  
 kōli rahā; bōr tōhrē kūknē-sē na chilpā. Tōh-nē bīk  
*doing remained; and thy word-from not went. Thee-by one*  
 rēhibrī-kā bachchā bhī mōhē na dīnī ke khyārō-kē hāth  
*goat-of young-one even to-me not was-given that friends-of with*  
 rusī rahpō. Bōr jō tēhrā ēh nīklā āyā jē tōhrā  
*merry might-be. And when thy this son came by-whom thy*  
 khaṭum paṭniyō-nē raharch hupī gōkī, tōh-nē ōh-kē liē  
*property harlots-to spent becoming went, thee-by him-of for-the-sake*  
 chhōd dūtnī kīnī.' Ōh-nē kūkā ke, ' nīklē, tū sadā  
*big feast was-made.' Him-by it-was-said that, ' son, thou always*  
 mōhrē ḍhigē hai, bōr jō mēhrā hai, sō tōhrā hai.  
*of-me near art, and what mine is, that thine is.*  
 Phin rusī rōhōpnā bōr rusī hōnā rahlā, ke tōhrā  
*But merry to-make and merry to-be was, that thy*  
 bhaotā lōgā rahlā, phin khajīmān hai; bōr khajātā rahlā,  
*brother dead was, again alive is; and lost was,*  
 khamlā hai.  
*found is.'*

[ No. 43.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (PAHĀRĪ BHĀBAR).

## SPECIMEN VI.

STATE RAMPUR.

Thēr mahinā-sē chhōd khadin bhaē ki kōdhī nāl-kū mährē  
*Three months-from many days were that half night-at my*  
 rōhlē būlaṭ bhai. Mēh rōhlē-sē khabāhar nīppar-nē nūj  
*in-house dacoity was. I house-from outside shed-in sleeping*  
 rahā thā. Mēhri chhahan rōhlē-nē nūj rahī thī. Bīk  
*staying was. My sister house-in sleeping staying was. One*  
 kudmī mährē rāhaṭ-kī ḍhigē chilagtā huā nukhā. Khōṭīthōgā,  
*man my bed-of near going become was-seen. I-rose,*  
 ō-sē nūchhā, tō kūkā ke, 'būki hū.' Mēh  
*him-from it-was-asked, then it-was-said that, 'chaukīdār am.' By-me*  
 kūkā ke, 'ōh bōr kudmī hai.' Phin ōh chilap-gayā.  
*it-was-said that, 'he another man is.' Then he going-went.*  
 Khadōrgā rihaprē nēhrē huē rēhlā. Phin nachīs khatīs bōl  
*White clothes put-on become was. Then twenty-five thirty burglars*  
 āē bōr kūkā ke, 'ham bulṭu haī.' Khandēri nāl rēhlī.  
*came and it-was-said that, 'we burglars are.' Dark night was.*  
 Namañchā bōr tikhnī leuṭhīā nandūkē sab khatiyār ōh-kē ḍhigē rahlē.  
*Pistol and sword sticks guns all weapons them-of near were.*  
 Kōṭ chul nandūkō-kē bhaē. Mēh gōghāi parā. Bīk nōhri  
*Eight fires guns-of became. I going fled. One knife*  
 thīs-nē lugārī bōr leuṭhīā lugārī. Mēh nīsht hupī gayā ke  
*head-on struck and sticks struck. I quiet becoming went that*  
 lōth ḍārēgē. Phin bīk kudmī tikhnī liyē mēhrē ḍhigē reharā  
*killing may-throw. Then one man sword taken of-me near standing*  
 rahā, bōr narwajjē-kā ruṇḍ nōrñē lagē. Nīdhwē-kē ḍāmbhē chhōd  
*was, and door-of bolt to-break began. Village-of people many*  
 bikhattē hupī gaē. Tō mēhrē ḍhigē-sē bōl chilpē gaē.  
*together becoming went. Then of-me near-from burglars going went.*  
 Phin mēh khīṇṭī-kē chilpā gayā, bōr nīdhwē-nē billātā phirā  
*Then I having-run moved went, and village-in shouting went-about*  
 ke, 'mēhrē rōhlē-nē bōl ālrē, rīgh chilpō.' Nēhblūanē  
*that, 'my house-in dacoits have-entered, quickly come.' All-sides-from*

bōl nandūkē lōhtē thē. Khādrā-kē mārē uṭhē kōi na  
*dacoits guns firing were. Fear-of on-account there anybody not*  
 jāsurta thā. Dhōr ranṭhā tāi bulattē rahē. Phin chilpē gaē.  
*going was. Two hours for robbing were. Then moved went.*  
 Bus-kē nicchē mēh rōhlē gōghā, nukhā ke khatālā nuṭā  
*That-of after I into-house went, it-was-seen that lock broken*  
 huā hai, khamāṭī rōdhilā-rī, ḍamaiyā-kī khaṭum khutārī  
*become is, earth dug-was, women-of property having-taken-out*  
 lī, bōr gahnā sab lipī gaē. Bikis  
*was-taken, and ornaments all having-taken had-gone. Twenty-one*  
 hajārē-kā khaṭum bulṭī-kē lipī gaē. Kāgad  
*thousand-of property having-robbed having-taken had-done. Paper*  
 dīppī diyā hai. Rīchhrā bōr nēṭhrē jālāē-kē  
*having-given given is. Quilts and stalks-of-juar-tree having-lighted*  
 bōlō-nē khujitā kī thī. Mēhrā jadhi-sē kāi kharañj nahī  
*dacoits-by light made was. Of-me defendant-with any ill-feeling not*  
 hai, na un-kē bhaotē-sē. Mēh-nē kīsī bōl-kū nahī nehchānā.  
*is, not him-of brother-with. Me-by any dacoit not was-recognized.*  
 Mēh in bolō-kū ke kachēriyā-nē rahṛē haī nahī nahchāntā.  
*I these dacoits who court-in standing are not know.*  
 Bōr jō khaṭum khīklē hōkē āyā hai, mēhrgā nahī  
*And which property recovered having-become come is, mine not*  
 hai. Bēk rahṛī tak mēhrē thāmnē mēhrā rōhlā bulattē rahē.  
*is. One hour for of-me before my house robbing remained.*

### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

More than three months ago there was a dacoity in my house at midnight. I was sleeping in a shed outside the house, but my sister was sleeping in the house. I saw a man coming up to my bed, and on my asking him, he said that he was the watchman. I then said, 'that is another man.' Then he went off. He was wearing white clothes. Then some twenty-five or thirty dacoits came and said they were dacoits. The night was dark. They had all sorts of weapons, pistols, swords, sticks and guns, and eight guns were fired. I then fled, but was hit on the head with a knife and with sticks. I then kept quiet lest they should kill me. One man was standing near me with a sword, and started to break the bolt of the door open. Now many of the village people came together, and the dacoits left me. I ran into the village and went about shouting, 'dacoits have entered my house, come quickly.' From all sides the dacoits were firing guns, and nobody ventured to approach. They kept robbing for two hours, and then went off. After that I entered the house and saw that the lock had been broken, the soil dug up, the property of the women taken and all ornaments taken away. They had robbed

twenty-one thousand rupees' worth of property. I have given a list of it. The dacoits had burned quilts and straw and thus made a light. I have no ill-feeling against the defendant or against his brother. I did not recognize any one of the dacoits. I do not recognize those dacoits who are standing in court. The property which has been recovered is not mine. They were robbing my house in my presence for one hour.

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The Naṭs in the Bijnor District base their argot on a dialect of the same kind as that spoken in Rampur. The Rājasthānī admixture is not very prominent. We may note forms such as *khabḍā* and *khabḍē*, O big one, Sir; *khabhēḍiā-kē*, of the wolf (but *khabhēḍiē-nē*, by the wolf); *āsrā*, they came, and so on. Note also future forms such as *jāḡrā*, I will go; *kōḡuṅgā*, I will say; compare Sāsī. Another future formation is represented by *hōēlā*, it will be. For further particulars the two specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is the beginning of a version of the Parable; the second a translation of the well-known tale about the wolf and the lamb.

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[ No. 44.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATL.

## SPECIMEN VII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Kisi kōdmī-kē dō nōbdē thē. Chhōtē nōbdē-nē bābā-sū  
*Some man-of two sons were. Small son-by father-to*  
 kahī ki, 'hamārā bāṭā bāṭi dē.' Us-nē apnē  
*it-was-said that, 'our share having-divided give.' Him-by own*  
 jiūdē-jī bāṭā diyā. Ghanē dīnā nahī huē, chhōṭā nōbdā  
*living-of share was-given. Many days not were, small son*  
 sab khūbnā lē dūsre dēsā nasī gayā, aur wahā-sē  
*all goods having-taken another country going went, and there*  
 sahnā khūbnā khurmastī lagādnē-mē barābād kar diyā. Aur  
*all goods riotousness applying-in wasted making was-given. And*  
 sab nāngā kar chukā, sō ūthē mulkā-mē ghanā akrā  
*all spent making ceased, then there country-in mighty famine*  
 hō gayā. Jab lāchār khōkhā hōnē lagā, tab us  
*having-become went. When helpless poor to-be began, then that*  
 dēsā-kē kisi kōdmī-sē jā bhēṭā. Tab us-nē usē ṭuṇḍā  
*country-of some man-with going was-joined. Then him-by him swine*  
 chugānē bhējī diyā. Tab hōshā-mē ākē kōghā,  
*to-graze having-sent it-was-given. Then senses-in having-come it-was-said,*  
 'mērē bāpā-kē utnē mihantī-kō bahutā ōṭī haī, maī bhūkō  
*' my father-of so-many serrants-to much breads are, I with-hunger*  
 mar chalpā. Maī ūthī-kē bāpā-kē pās jāgrā aur us-sē  
*dying went. I having-risen father-of near will-go and him-to*  
 kōguṅgā ki, "bāpā, hamī-nē āsmānē-kā tērē hazūr taksirā  
*will-say that, "father, me-by heaven-of of-thee presence fault*  
 karā hai." '  
*done is." '*

[ No. 45.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NATĪ.

## SPECIMEN VIII.

DISTRICT BIJNOR.

Ek khunaddi baḍi napā thī. Uh-kē dhāngā-pā ēk-hī khabaktā  
*One river very clear was. That-of bank-to one-only at-time*  
 khabhēḍiā ō khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā dōṇō khapānī pīnē āsrā.  
*wolf and sheep-of young-one both water to-drink came.*  
 Garmiā khabautā tui rōgi. Khadōṇō-kō khapyās lagī  
*Heat much having-fallen was. Both-to thirst having-become-attached*  
 rōgi thī. Khabhēḍiā uṭhē khaḍā khapānī tōgi rahā thā,  
*being was. Wolf there standing water drinking remaining was,*  
 uṭhē-sē thōḍi dūrā-par khabāo-kī tarfā khabhēḍā-kā khabachchā  
*there-from little distance-at current-of in-direction sheep-of young-one*  
 khapānī tōgi lagā. Khabhēḍiā-kē khumā khuluhū lagā huā  
*water drinking began. Wolf-of in-mouth blood smeared become*  
 thā, uh-kē khēdartē-hī khumā-mē khachchī ṭahuk āyā ; us-kē  
*was, him-of on-seeing-even mouth-in water filled came ; him-of*  
 dūtnē-kē liyē khajhagrā khūbā kiyā. ‘ Ō bē-adbā,  
*eating-of for-the-sake quarrel much was-made. O respectless-one,*  
 tujhē ehī kulnā chāhiyē ki pāō-sē hilāi hilāi khapānī-kō gādlā  
*for-thee this to-do is-wanted that feet-by moving moving water dirty*  
 kultā hai, jī-kī wajah-sē ham pānī na tōg-sāi. khapyās-kē  
*making art, which-of cause-from I water not drinking-am, thirst-of*  
 khamārē marī chalpaī. Khubichārē khubachchē-nē jawābā  
*on-the-account dying may-go. Poor young-one-by answer*  
 diyā, ‘ khabḍē, kyā hukmā khadōrtē hō ? Khapānī-kā khabāo  
*was-given, Sir, what order giving are ? Water-of current*  
 āpā-kī tarfā-sē mēri tarfā hai. Mēri labā-sē  
*self-of direction-from my in-direction is. My direction-from*  
 tēri labā-kō nahī jāē saktā. Tab khabhēḍiē-nē kaugā,  
*thy direction-to not go can. Then wolf-by it-was-said,*  
 ‘ nuḥī-sahī, tū baḍō khumgrā hai ; khachchē mōs huē tan-nē  
*never-mind, thou great scoundrel art ; six months become thee-by*  
 mujh-kō baṛiā gāriā dīpi thī. Khubachchē-nē kaugā, ‘ khabḍā,  
*me-to great abuses given were. Young-one-by it-was-said, Sir,*

kyā nachī khacholtē hō ? Maĩ tō abhī khachh mahīnē-kā  
*what trouble speaking are ? I even now six months-of*  
hōpā nahī. Gāriā kis-nē dēpī hōgī ?' Khabhēdiē-nē kaugā,  
*become not. Abuses whom-by given may-be ?' Wolf-by it-was-said,*  
'ithā tum-nē mah-kō gāriā na dēpī hōgī, tau tumhārē bāpā-nē  
*'here thee-by me-to abuses not given may-be, then thy father-by*  
dēpī hōgī. Ab nisāpā yah hōelā ki apnē bāpā-kē kartabō-kā  
*given may-be. Now justice this will-be that own father-of deeds-of*  
dāḍā bhugti lō.' Yah kaugī-kē khubachchē-kō chakar  
*punishment reaping may-take.' This having-said young-one-of seizing*  
liyā aur tūk-tūk kar-kē tūmī liyā.  
*was-taken and piece-piece having-made eating was-taken.*

### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A wolf and a lamb came at the same time to the bank of a clear river to drink water. It was very hot and both were thirsty. The lamb was drinking water a little distance downstream from where the wolf was standing and drinking water. The wolf was very bloodthirsty, and its mouth watered on seeing the sheep. He tried to raise a quarrel in order to get an opportunity of eating him. He said, 'O impudent fellow, is it proper for you to make the water dirty by stirring it with your feet, so that I cannot drink it and may die from thirst?' The poor lamb replied: 'Sir, what do you command? The water flows from you to me and cannot flow from me to you.' Then the wolf said: 'never mind, you are a scoundrel; six months ago you abused me.' Said the lamb, 'how can this be true? I am not six months old. Who can have abused you?' The wolf said: 'if you did not abuse me, it must have been your father, and it is only just that you should be punished for the deeds of your father.' After having said this he seized the lamb, tore it to pieces and ate it.

The Naṭs of the Bahraich District call themselves Brijbāsī and state that they have come from Braj. Their dialect seems to contain a larger admixture of Rājasthānī than we have hitherto found. It is, however, possible that the speech of the different Brijbāsīs differs according to their last habitat, and it would be unsafe to base far-reaching conclusions on one single specimen. The first lines of a version of the Parable will be sufficient to show its general character. It will be noticed that the Rājasthānī element is so strong that it can almost be characterised as the base of the dialect. The specimen does not, on the other hand, illustrate the artificial argot of the Naṭs with which we are here concerned.

[ No. 46.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ (BRIJBĀSĪ).

## SPECIMEN IX.

DISTRICT BAHRAICH.

Ek	ādmī-rē	dui	chhōrā	chhē.	U-mhā-lē	nānhikē	chhōrā	
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Them-in-from	by-small	son	
bāū-nē	kahiō,	‘uhō	bāū,	dhan	jaun	hamārō	hīsā	chhē
father-to	it-was-said,	‘O	father,	property	which	my	share	is
ham-nō	dai-dēō.’	Tabai	ū	dhan	ū-thaī	bāṭ	dīnhō.	
me-to	give.’	Then	he	property	him-to	having-divided	was-given.	
Ujī	thōr	doūs	bītē	nānhikē	chhōrā	jamā-jathrī	lē-kō	
And	few	days	after	small	son	property	having-taken	
pardēsan	chalō	gayō,	ujī	uttē	āprō	māl-jāl	sail-sūphī-mā	
to-a-foreign-country	moved	went,	and	there	own	property	debauchery-in	
urā-dīnō.								
was-wasted.								

The argot of the Naṭs of the Bhagalpur District is based on a mixture of Eastern Hindī and Hindōstānī with some Bengali forms. It will be sufficient to give the beginning of a version of the Parable in illustration of this jargon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that the ordinary language of Bhagalpur is Bihārī, a form of speech quite different from Hindī.—G. A. G.



[ No. 47.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

NAṬĪ.

## SPECIMEN X.

DISTRICT BHAGALPUR.

Jhēkē	kudmī-kē	dhūr	rawāil	rahē.	Rōṭkā	rawāil	apnē			
One	man-of	two	sons	were.	Small	son	own			
ḍugwā-sē	kutāis	jē,	‘ sab	tiḥā	masil	mērā	jhakhrā			
father-to	said	that,	‘ all	wealth	money	my	share			
batkhilālapā.’	Ḍugwā	sab	tiḥā	masil	dhūrō	rawāil-kē	jhāṭ			
divide.’	Father	all	wealth	money	two	sons-of	shares			
dihis.	Thōrācha	jhād	rōṭkā	rawāil	apnā	sab	masil	gaṅg		
gave.	Short	after	small	son	own	all	money	pice		
lē-kē	jhārī	dūr	ralī	gapāil.	Wahā	sab	masil	gaṅg	rahūli-mē	
having-taken	very	far	going	went.	There	all	money	pice	harlots-in	
dharāb-kar	dihis.	Jab	us-kā	rabṭhō	marchā	hō	geā,	tab		
spent-making	gave.	When	him-of	all	spent	becoming	went,	then		
us	dēs-mē	jhārī	jhakāl	parpāil,	ō	ū	bayitē-mē	ḍharib	hō	
that	country-in	great	famine	fell,	and	he	food-in	poor	becoming	
gail.	Tab	wah	jhēkē	kājā	raṅgh	rahēkē	gail.	Kājā		
went.	Then	he	one	gentleman	with	to-remain	went.	Gentleman		
us-kō	apnē	nēthā-mē	rūkar	charānē-kō	bhējis.	Naslāē	rūkar-kē	bētnī		
him	own	field-in	swine	feeding-for	sent.	Husks	pigs-of	food		
bhī	milpāit,	tō	ū	apan	chuṭkāi	chidhā	bhai-kē			
even	would-have-got,	then	he	own	belly	glad	having-become			
lauṛit.	Jab	wah	apnē	kīhā	dharpā,	apnē	man-mē	chhōkē		
would-have-filled.	When	he	own	sense	held,	own	mind-in	to-say		
lagā	jē,	‘ hamarē	ḍugwā-kē	kitnē	khēoṭahā-kē	etnā	ḍōmkā	hai		
began	that,	‘ my	father-of	how-many	servants-of	so-much	bread	is		
ke	wah	apnē	bayitē	haī	ō	dūsar-kē	bayitātē	haī,	ō	ham
that	they	self	eating	are	and	others-of	feeding	are,	and	I
bhūkan	dhimī	jāilā.	Ham	apnē	ḍugwā	raṅgh	jāisī	ō	kutāisī	
by-hunger	eating	go.	I	own	father	near	will-go	and	will-say	
jē,	“ ē	ḍugwā,	ham	tērā	khahut	bējāō	kiyā,	ō	ham	tērā
that,	“ O	father,	by-me	of-thee	many	faults	were-done,	and	I	thy
rahūlā	chhōkāē	jōkar	naipī	hapāil;	apnē	nāhar-mē	khēoṭā	rakhpā.”	’	
son	to-be-called	fit	not	became;	own	presence-in	servant	keep.”	’	

## ḌŌM.

The Ḍōms are a menial caste belonging to what Sir Herbert Risley calls the Dravidian type. It is not uniform but comprises several variations and sub-castes. Some Ḍōms supply fire at cremation or act as executioners; others are scavengers, and some have taken to basket and cane working. The Ḍōms in the Himalayan districts have gained a fairly respectable position as husbandmen and artisans, while the wandering Magahiḃā Ḍōms of Bihar are professional thieves.

The Ḍōms are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir.

The following are the figures returned at the Census of 1911 :—

Assam	30,412
Bengal	173,991
Bihar and Orissa	241,903
Central Provinces and Berar	9,344
Panjab	79,916
United Provinces	333,781
Kashmir State	52,099
Elsewhere	4,374
TOTAL	925,820

To these may be added the following, shown in the Census under the names of Bansphōr and Basōr :—

Central Provinces and Berar	52,947
United Provinces	23,095
Baroda State	9
Central India Agency	52,465
TOTAL	128,516

Giving a grand total for Ḍōms under all names of 1,054,336.

The common name of the caste is Ḍōm or Ḍōmrā, a word of uncertain origin.

According to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* a *Ḍama* is the son of a *lēṭa* and a *chāṇḍālī*, and *Ḍama* is perhaps the same word as *Ḍōma*. The *ḍōmas* or *ḍōmbas* are mentioned in Sanskrit literature as living by singing and music. The form *ḍōmba* seems to be the oldest one. It occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* (lxxvii. 33), which belongs to the sixth century, and several times in Sanskrit works hailing from Kashmir such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sōmadēva and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. There cannot be any doubt that these *ḍōmbas* are identical with the Ḍōms, and the name of the caste is accordingly old. The base from which it is derived is perhaps onomatopœic; compare Sanskrit *ḍam*, to sound; *ḍamaru*, drum. It is probably not Aryan.

The late Professor Hermann Brockhaus of Leipzig was the first to suggest that the word *ḍōm* might be identical with the name *rōm*, which the European Gipsies use

to denote themselves.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion has been adopted by Charles G. Leland<sup>2</sup> and Sir George Grierson,<sup>3</sup> and it may now be considered as established, after we have learnt to know that the Nawar or Zutt, a Gipsy tribe of Palestine, call themselves *Dōm* and their language *Dōmāri*.<sup>4</sup>

#### AUTHORITIES—

MUHAMMAD ABDŪL GHAFŪR,—*A Complete Dictionary of the Terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjab ; together with a short History of each Tribe and the Names and Places of Residence of individual Members.* Lahore, 1879. Central Jail Press, pp. 21ff., 51ff.

LEITNER, G. W.,—*A Detailed Analysis of Abdul Ghafur's Dictionary of the terms used by Criminal Tribes in the Panjab.* Lahore, 1880. Civil Secretariat Press, pp. xviii and ff.

LEITNER, G. W.,—*Words and Phrases illustrating the Dialects of the Samē and Mē as also of Dancers, Mirāsīs and Dōms.* Appendix to "Changars" and Linguistic Fragments. Lahore, 1882. Civil Secretariat Press, pp. v and ff.

So far as can be judged from the materials available the Dōms do not possess a dialect of their own, but use the speech of their neighbours. The words and phrases given by Abdul Ghafur belong to an argot of the same kind as that used by the Sāsīs. A similar remark applies to the Dōm dialect mentioned by Dr. Leitner. Neither his materials nor the sentences published by Abdul Ghafur are, however, sufficient for judging with certainty. According to information collected for the purposes of this Survey a dialect called Dōmrā was spoken in the following districts of Bihar and Orissa :—

Saran	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9,500
Champaran	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,000
TOTAL													13,500	

These figures refer to the argot of the Magahiyā Dōms, who derive their name Magahiyā from Magah, Magadha, where they assert that their original home was, or from *māg*, road. They are notorious thieves and bad characters and do not cultivate or labour if they can help it. Their women only make occasional basket work as a pretence, their part being that of the spy, informer and disposer of stolen property.

The estimates of the number of speakers of Dōmrā in Saran are certainly exaggerated. At the Census of 1911 the Dōms of Saran numbered only 8,606, and only a portion of these used the Dōmrā argot. The Dōms of Champaran numbered 7,662, and the estimates for that district are perhaps correct.

As shown by the specimens which follow Dōmrā is an argot based on the current Bhōjpuri of the districts, with a tissue of Rājasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes, dative *kō*, genitive *kā*, *kī*, *kē* ;

<sup>1</sup> See A. F. Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*. Vol. i. Halle, 1844. p. 42 ; Chr. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*. Vol. i. Second edition, p. 460. note 1 ; Franz Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, viii, p. 57=Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe, Vol. xxvii. Vienna, 1810

<sup>2</sup> *Academy*, Vol. vii, 1875, p. 637.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xv, 1886, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*. Gipsy Lore Society. Monographs, No. 3. Edinburgh, 1914.

stray verbal forms such as *kihuas-nā*, to say; *tikunē-sē*, from eating; *kahā*, said; *lagā*, began, etc. Of Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases; thus, *kājwā-kē du chēṭā*, two sons of a man. Most verbal forms and, generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhōjpurī. Compare forms such as *khurē*, am; *karulī*, I did; *kahlak*, said; *kahab*, shall say; *biruarb*, we shall become; *ṭiguarihē*, they will see, and the common base *bar*, *bār*, to be.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are: *baurā*, boy; *ṭēpar*, cloth; *kājwā*, cultivator; *ruguar*, dead; *tigun*, eating; *tawā*, went; *khūrkā*, horse; *ḍaulā*, house; *bhōth*, *chōchkā*, a Dōm; *bhubhur*, pig; *ghōmēyā*, *ōban*, rupee; *gēm*, thief, and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of letters, as in *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the beginning of a word. The gutturals *k* and *kh* are used in this way; thus, *kōg*=*āg*, fire; *kōhath*=*hāth*, hand; *kōhathī*=*hāthī*, elephant; *khēk*=*ēk*, one; *khakāl*=*kāl*, famine; *khingūr*=*sindūr*, red lead; *khikuar-kē*=*nikāl-kē*, having taken out; *khurē*, *khōrē*=*rahē*, am. It will be seen that the original word is sometimes also abbreviated and changed in other ways at the same time.

The palatals *ch* and *chh* are most frequently substituted for labials; thus, *chap-khaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *chagrī*, *pagrī*; *chēṭā*=*lēṭā*, son; *chaikunṭh*=*baikunṭh*, heaven; *chāchhrī*=*machhlī*, fish; *chibantu*=*ban*, forest; *chhiruarkē*=*phir*, again, etc. Sometimes, however, *ch* is also used before or instead of other sounds; compare *chabhī*=*kabhī*, ever; *chayā*=*dayā*, compassion; *chōkarkhaiā*=*naukar*, servant; *chirōṭī*=*rōṭī*, bread. *ḍh* is used as a substitute in words such as *ḍhanarphul*=*karanphul*, eardrop; *ḍhasailī*=*kasailī*, betel nut; *ḍhasbin*=*kasbin*, harlot; *ḍhēm*=*gēm*, thief; *ḍhasī*=*khasī*, goat.

*n* is used in several words such as *ṛōṭ*, coat; *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, fields; *nuiṭhā*=*gōṭhā*, cowdung; *nutā*=*jutā*, shoe; *narī*=*darī*, carpet; *nēwānī*=*pānī*, water; *nahar*=*shahr*, town, etc.

Finally we find *r* in words such as *rōpī*=*ṭōpī*, hat; *rēlī*=*tēlī*, oilman, and so forth.

In addition to such devices the Magabiyā Dōms show a marked predilection for changing their words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following thus add an *ēm*, and we get *dulēm*, two; *tidrēm*, three; *charēm*, four; *pañchēm*, five; *chhalēm*, six; *satēm*, seven; *chaṭēm*, eight; *navēm*, nine; *dasēm*, ten; *bisēm*, twenty. *Gō* is also commonly added to numerals; thus, *khēgō*, one; *dulēm-gō*, two; *salēm-gō*, hundred.

A common addition is also *tu*; thus, *gōrtu*, foot; *jaḍatu*, cold, winter; *niraktu*=*chirāgh*, lamp; *jawabtu*, an answer; *dhantu*, property; *chichartu*=*bichār*, deliberation; *baptu*=*bāp*, father; *nalēhatu*=*ṣalāh*, counsel. Compare Sāsī *tā*.

Other common additions are *khaiā*, *khaihē*, *khaiā* in the Saran specimen, and *hilā*, *hilē* in the Champaran texts. Thus, *nētkhaiā*=*khēt*, field; *chumkhaiā*=*chumā*, kissed; *chapkhaiā*=*pāp*, sin; *bhaikhaiā*, brother; *saṅghkhaiā*, with; *samankhaihē*=*sāmnē*,

before; *chaskhāē*=*pās*, towards; *bapkhailā*=*bāp*, father; *chētkhailā*, sense; *nētkhailā*=*khēt*, field; *garahilā*=*galā*, neck; *jutahilā* and *nōtahilā*=*jutā*, shoe; *saṅgahilā*, with; *sunahilā*, heard; *samanahilē*, before. Note the frequent abbreviation of the vowel of the original word in such cases.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a very puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaitā*=*ātā*, comes; *charsaitā*=*barsātā*, it rains; *dēghluarsē*=*diyā*, gave; *tigungharuarē*, ate, and others, the most characteristic addition is *u*. This *u* can be added alone; thus, *kih-u-ātē*, I will say; *kar-u-lī*, I did; *keh-u-lē* and *kah-u-alak*, said; *kir-u-wē*, to make; *kih-uw-ēs*, *kih-u-as*, *kih-u-ēsā*, said.

In other cases it is preceded by an *s*; thus, *di-su*, gave; *li-su*, took; *di-su-ātā*, gives; *kha-su-ālē*, coming; *kha-su-aitā*, comes (with *kh* added in front); *ki-suw-atē*, have done; *a-su-ān*, *a-su-ānē*, *a-su-āel*, and *kha-su-ān*, came; *chal-so-āel*, went; *di-suw-ē*, had given; *di-suw-ēs*, gavest; *di-suw-as*, gave; *di-su-alan*, gave; *di-su-alin*, gavest.

A very common addition is *uar*; thus, *char-uar-ē*, to graze; *kah-uar-ē*, to say; *dēkh-uar-kē*, having seen, *chaṭ-nar* (*disu*), dividing (gave); *rah-uar-ā*, remained; *ho-wr-ē*, it may be; *mar-uar-thī*, I am dying; *kir-uar-lē*, I did; *di-suar-tahā*, gave; *chah-uar-tarhā*, he was wishing; *rah-uar-ṭwā*, *rah-uar-toāel*, stayed; *rah-uar-al*, was; *bach-uar-al*, was saved; *lag-uar-alē*, began; *tar-uar-lī*, I transgressed; *rah-uar-alhā*, was; *chuchh-uar-alak*, asked; *mar-uar-alas*, has beaten, and so forth; compare Kanjari *wār*, *bār*, etc.

The *l*-suffix of many of these forms is the suffix of the past participle. It also occurs in the present in forms such as *bar-u-ala*, is; *hō-war-al*, am, art, is; *khō-war-lī*, we are; *sut-uar-al*, sleeps, and so on. Compare Bhōjpurī.

The preceding remarks only explain the most common Dōm devices for disguising common words. There are probably numerous similar ones. Of those occurring in the specimens we may mention the addition of *krā* in pronouns; thus, *khōkrē*, by thee; *khō-krē-mē-sē*, from among them, etc. It should be noted that *khū* may stand for *tū*, thou, and also for *ū*, he. In the case of verbs attention may be drawn to the frequent use of compound tenses formed with the base *ṭan*, to go; thus, *hō-ṭwā*, became; *rahuar-ṭawā*, stayed; *par-ṭawān*, fell; *gaṅgar-toāel*, fled; the occasional addition of *rat* in *sunā-rat*, he heard, and so forth. Further particulars will be understood from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the argot of the Magahiṃyā Dōms of Chapra in the Saran District. The two other ones have come from Champaran and have been forwarded as illustrating the slang of the Dōmrās. The first of them is a version of the Parable, the second a short Dōm story.

[ No. 48.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

MAGAHİYĀ DŌM.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT SARAN-

Khēk kājwā-kē du chētā baruaral. Khōkrē-mē-sē chōchikā-nē  
*One man-of two sons were. Them-among-from younger-by*  
 bapkhailā-sē kihuēsā, ' hē bapkhailā, darbkhaiā jē hamrē chakrā  
*father-to said, ' O father, goods which my share*  
 hōwrē, sē hamē disu.' Tab u khōkrē khāpan darbkhaiā  
*will-be, that to-me give.' Then he to-him own goods*  
 chaṭuar disu. Bahut din nā chitaur ke chōchikā chētā sab  
*dividing gave. Many days not passed that younger son all*  
 chijkhaiā khēkthā kar-kē chari chahrē chalāṭwā, khaur khuhā  
*things together having-made far country went, and there*  
 chadmāsī din chitarṭwā, khāpan darbkhaiā khurā disuwas. Jab  
*in-riotousness days spent, own goods wasted gave. When*  
 wah sab kuchh khurā disuwē, tab us chahrē-mē charā khakāl  
*he all whatever wasted had-given, then that country-in big famine*  
 partawān, khaur wah dhaṅgāl hōṭwā, khaur khuhā ṭawākē  
*fell, and he destitute became, and there having-gone*  
 us chahrē khādmī-mē khēk ādmī rahuarṭawā, jēkrē khōkrē  
*that country men-in one man to-live-went, who him*  
 khapnē nētkhaiā bhubhur charuarē bhējuar-disuwē. Khaur khōkrē  
*own fields swine to-graze sent. And those*  
 nēdhiō-sē jinhē bhubhur tigun-gharuarē khapnā chēt bharuarē  
*husks-with which swine eating-were own belly to-fill*  
 chahuartarhā, khaur kaunō nā us-kō kuchh disuartahā. Tab  
*wishing-was, and anybody not him-to anything giving-was. Then*  
 khōkrē chētkhailā hōṭwā, khaur khunē kahuartē, ' khamrē bapkhailā-kē  
*to-him sense became, and he said, ' my father-of*  
 chahut majurā tigunār-sē chahut pōpī hōkhuartē khaur ham  
*many servants eating-from much bread remained and I*  
 bhukhēhē maruarthī. Maī khut-kē khapnē bapkhailā pās chalāṭwā  
*with-hunger dying-am. I having-arisen own father near go*  
 khaur khōkrē kihuatē, " hē bapkhailā, kham-nē chaikunṭh khulṭā khaur  
*and to-him will-say, " O father, me-by Heaven against and*  
 khōkrē samun-khaihē chapkhaiā kiruartē; maī chhiruarke tōhār chētā  
*thee before sin did; I again thy son*

kihūē lāek nai-khurē. Khamrē-kē khapnē majurā-mē-sē khēk  
*to-say worthy not-am. Me own servants-in-from one*  
 charābar kiru.”” Tab wah khuṭkē khapnē bapkhailā chalātṭwā.  
*like make.”” Then he having-arisen own father went.*  
 Chahū pawrā nā, khōkrē bapkhailā dēkhuar-kē chayā kiruṣasē, khaur  
*Far came not, his father seen-having mercy made, and*  
 naruwar-kē us-kē garkhaiā thiru-lisuwēs chumkhaiā. Chētā-nē khōkrē-sē  
*run-having him-of neck kept-took kissed. Son-by him-to*  
 kahā, ‘hē bapkhailā, khamrē-kē chaikunṭh khulṭā khaur khapnē  
*it-was-said, ‘O father, I (sic) hearen against and yourself*  
 samankhaihē chap-khailā kiruwatē, khaur chhiruarkē tōhār chētā kahuarē  
*before sin did, and again thy son to-say*  
 lāek nai-khōrē.’ Chāki bapkhailā-nē khapnē chōkar-sē kihuwēs, ‘sab-sē  
*worthy not-am.’ But father-by own servants-to said, ‘all-than*  
 khachhā tēpar khikuar-kē chahrā-disuwēs, khōkrē kōhath aṅguthī khaur  
*good robe having-brought put-on-him, his hand ring and*  
 pair-mē nutā pahināō, aur ham tikunarkē khaur nusī biruarb,  
*feet-on shoes put-on, and we eating and merry let-become,*  
 kihuat-biruaral hamār chētā ruarē-barābar rahuārā, phir jiwartṭwā;  
*because my son dead-like was, again alive-went;*  
 chulātṭwā, phir chiluartṭwā.’ Tab wē khānand kiruwar liguwārē.  
*lost-went, again met-went.’ Then they merriment to-make began.*

Khōkar charkā chētā nētkhailā-mē biruaral. Khaur chalā-khasuātē  
*His big son fields-in was. And going-coming*  
 niarkhaihē khasuān, tab jakhaiā khaur nachard khawāj sunārat. Khaur  
*near came, then music and dancing sound heard. And*  
 khu khapnē chōkarkhaiā-mē-sē khēk-kō chaskhaē chōlāwat chuchhuartē khi,  
*he own servants-in-from one-to near calling asked that,*  
 ‘kā hawāral?’ Khu khōkrē-sē kihuas, ‘khapnē bhaikhaiā asuānē,  
*‘what becoming-is?’ He him-to said, ‘yourself-of brother came,*  
 khaur tohār bapkhailā niman tigunār wrēsā khēkhōjkhaiā-sē ki usē  
*and thy father good dinner has-given because that him*  
 khachhā chauarēsā.’ Chāki khōkrē nisān biruaral khaur chitar nā tāwō.  
*well got.’ But he angry became and inside not came.*  
 Khēkrē khōkar bapkhailā chahri asuā-kē chanānē lagā.  
*Therefore his father outside having-come to-remonstrate began.*  
 Khōkrē bapkhailā-kē jawabtu dēghluarsē kē, ‘dēkhuarē, māi bahut  
*He father-to answer gave that, ‘see, I many*  
 charisō-sē khōkri sēvkhaiā kiruartē, khaur chab-hī khō-kā hukumkhaiā  
*years-from thy service did, and ever thy order*

nā taruarli. Khaur khōkrē hamrē kahikhaiā khēk nakrī na  
*not transgressed. And thou to-me ever one goat not*  
 disuwēs kē khapnē chit saṅkhaiā khānand kiruat biruaral. Chāki  
*gavest that own friends with merriment making might-be. But*  
 khāpan ē chētā jēs wā khapnē sab-khaihē darbkhaiā tigun-ṭawān jaisē  
*own this son who your-own all-what-ever goods eating-went when*  
 khasuān tyō-hī khap-nē khōkrē khachhā tikunār kiruaisai.  
*came then-indeed yourself-by for-him good dinner have-made.'*  
 Bapkhailā khōkrē-sē kihuwēs, 'hē chētā, tu sab din hamrē saṅkhaiā,  
*Father him-to said, 'O son, thou all days me with,*  
 khaur kichhu khamār hai, sē sab tōr hawwaral. Chāki khānand  
*and anything mine is, that all thine is. But joy*  
 kiruwē khaur nōsī hōtwā khachhā thā kākē-ki yah tōr bhaikhaiā  
*to-make and merry to-be good was because this thy brother*  
 rubarlē barābar rahuārā, phir jiwartwā; chulāṭwā, phir miluwartwā.  
*dead like was, again alive-went; lost-went, again met-went.'*



[No. 49.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DŌMRĀ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khēk ādmī-kē dukēm-gō chētā rahuarē. Chhōtkā chētā kahlak  
*One man-of two sons were. Younger son said*  
 khapnā baptu-sē, 'hē baptu, ōban chubi hamār chakhrā disu-disu.'  
*own father-to, 'O father, rupees pice our share give.'*  
 Tab chaṭuar disu. Chahu din nā bituaral ki khapnā chakhrā chubi  
*Then dividing gave. Many days not passed that own share pice*  
 lisu-kē dūr destu chaltoāel ō khapnā raṇdatu-sē sab khurā disu.  
*taking distant country went and own misconduct-by all squandered gave.*  
 Tab u destu-mē khakaltu paruar-toāel, u nēklif-mē hō-toāel.  
*Then that country-in famine fell, he difficulty-in becoming-fell.*  
 Khēhu destu-mē khēgō ādmī-kē hiā rahuar-toāel, bhumbhur charuarē  
*That country-in one man-of with living-became, swine for-tending*  
 lisutoāel-narāel. Kō jī bhumbhur tikunē khēhu raṇdwā tikunē  
*was-deputed. Husks which swine ate that rascal to-eat*  
 chahuarē; khōkrākē kēu nā disuē kichhuē. Khōkrā khakil bhauaral,  
*wished; him-to anybody not gave anything. To-him sense came,*  
 u kahuaral, 'hamarā baptu kihā chijurā-kē tikunē-sē bahit nōṭi  
*he said, 'my father with servants-of eating-than much bread*  
 bachuaral, ham bhukhalē rugtā-nī. Khapnā baptu-kē niar toāeb  
*is-saved, I with-hunger dying-am. Own father-of near will-go*  
 khunkā-sē kahab kī, "ham Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō baptu-kē  
*him-to will-say that, "I God-of before and father-of*  
 samanahilē paptu karūli; ham tōhār chētā kahāwē lāek na barūli;  
*before sin did; I thy son to-be-called fit not became;*  
 hamrā-kē chijurā māfil januarī." 'Khuṭuar-kē apnā baptu-kē niar  
*me servant like consider." 'Arise-having own father-of near*  
 toāilin. Chētā-kē ṭhignar-kē baptu-kē chāyā laguaral, daruar-kē  
*went. Son seen-having father-to compassion was-applied, run-having*  
 garahilā thiru-kē chumahilā lisualak. Chētā-nē kahulak, 'hē baptu,  
*neck embraced-having kisses took. Son-by said, 'O father,*  
 Bhagwantu-kē samanahilē ō tōhrā samanahilē paptu kirūli; chētā kihūē  
*God-of before and of-thee before sin did; son to-say*

lāek nā birualī.' Baptu apnā nōkarhilā-sē kihualak kī, 'chadhiā tēpar  
*fit not am.* *Father own servants-to said that, 'good clothes*  
 nikalwā-kē chētā-kē chenhāō, ō kōhāth-mē, khōngūthī au gōrtu-mē nōtahilā  
*taking-out son-to put-on, and hand-on ring and feet-on shoes*  
 chenhāō; ō ham tikunī khushahilā karuarī; hamār chētā lugail  
*put-on; and we shall-eat merry shall-make; my son dead*  
 rahuaralhā, jītuar-ṭōāel; nulā ṭōāel rahualhā, ab miluar-ṭōāel.' U-lōg  
*was, living-became; lost gone was, now found-became.* *They*  
 khushahilā hō-ṭōāel.  
*merry became.*

Khō-kar nētkā chētā khētu-mē rahuaral. Khētu-mē-sē apnā ḍaulē  
*His big son field-in was. Field-in-from own house*  
 chalsoāel, nachtu howarail chājā chējuarail sunahilā. Aur nōkarhilā-sē  
*went, dancing going-on music beating heard. And servant-from*  
 chōlā-kē chēchuaralak, 'kā hōwaralē?' Khun-kā-sē kehulē kī,  
*called-having asked, 'what is-going-on?' Him-to said that,*  
 'khapnē-kē bhahilā suāel baruaralē; khapnē-kē baptu chadhiā tikunē-kē  
*'self-of brother arrived has-become; self-of father big eating-for*  
 karuaralē, khun-kā-kē chinuman paruaralē-bārē.' Tab u nisiā  
*made-has, because safe-and-sound found-has.* *Then he angry*  
 hō-ṭōāel ō ḍaul-mē rā ṭōāel. Baptu ḍaul-sē khikalsuāel  
*becoming-went and house-in not went. Father house-from going-out-came*  
 khō-krā-kē chināwē laguaralē. Tab u baptu-kē jababtu disualan, 'ham  
*him-to to-entreat began. Then he father-to answer gave, 'I*  
 khapnē-kē katā dintu-sē sēwahilā kiraali. Kabhī khapnē-kē chachan  
*self-of how-many days-from service did. Ever self-of word*  
 nā khuṭaralī. Mudā khamrā-kē khēgō chēthrū nā disu kē khapnā  
*not transgressed. Ever me-to one kid not gave that own*  
 dōstu-kē saṅghilā musī kartī. Bākī ḍhasbin-kē saṅghilā  
*friends-of in-company merry might-make. But harlots-of in-company*  
 raur ī chētā sab dhantu khupā disu, to-ī tab-hī suāel, tab-hī  
*your-Honour's this son all wea'th spent gave, he then came, then*  
 nīmat chadhiā mōṭikā chanā-kē tihunē-kē disualin.' Baptu  
*good big feast having-prepared eating-for you-gave.* *The-father*  
 khō-krā-sē kihulak kī, 'chētā, hamar sāth tu khamēsē baruala, sē  
*him-to said that, 'son, me with thou always art, what*  
 barualē hamar, sē tōhrē biruaralē. Bākī khushahilā kirūkē chahuaral,  
*is mine, that thine is. But merry to-make it-was-wanted,*  
 khuarē-kē tōr bhahilā rōguar ṭōāel, phēr jīuar ṭōāel; nulā ṭōāel rahuaral,  
*because thy brother dead went, again alive went; lost gone was,*  
 phēr milual ṭōāel.  
*again found went.'*

[ No. 50.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

DÖMRĀ.

## SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT CHAMPARAN.

Khak	rajahilā	rahuarē.	Khō-krē	dhantu	pañchēm	ḍhēm	gimāwē
<i>One</i>	<i>rājā</i>	<i>was.</i>	<i>His</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>thieves</i>	<i>to-steal</i>
gahuaral.	Gimātē	gimātē	narichh	hō	ṭōāel.	Pañchēmu	
<i>went.</i>	<i>Stealing</i>	<i>stealing</i>	<i>morning</i>	<i>becoming</i>	<i>went.</i>	<i>Five</i>	
khāpus-mē	nalēhatu	chicharatu	kirialak,	‘ab	na	jantu	bachuarī.
<i>selves-among</i>	<i>counsel</i>	<i>deliberation</i>	<i>made,</i>	<i>‘now</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>living-being</i>	<i>will-be-saved.</i>
Naṭiā	lisu,	khōhi	par	dhantu	thirū,	ṭēpar	churdā
<i>Bed</i>	<i>bring,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>property</i>	<i>place,</i>	<i>cloth</i>	<i>corpse</i>
						<i>likeness</i>	<i>covering</i>
Charēmu-gōrā	chārū	chauā	khuṭā-kē	kandhatu-par	thirū	disu.	Khēk
<i>Four-of-us</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>legs</i>	<i>having-lifted</i>	<i>shoulders-on</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>give.</i>	<i>One</i>
ādmī	nuiṭhā-mē	kīcha	kōhāth-mē	thirū	lisu,	kandhatu-par	nudār
<i>man</i>	<i>cowdung-in</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>hand-in</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>take,</i>	<i>shoulder-on</i>	<i>hoe</i>
							<i>place</i>
lisu.’	Khaisani	kirū-kē	pañchēmō	gēm	gaṅgar	ṭōāel.	
<i>take.’</i>	<i>Thus</i>	<i>having-done</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>thieves</i>	<i>escaping</i>	<i>went.</i>	

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

There was once a king, and five thieves came to steal his property. While they were thus occupied the morning came. The five thieves began to consult among themselves. ‘Now none of us will escape. Let us take a bed and put the stolen property on it. Then let us put a cloth over the property as if it were a corpse. Let four of us take the bed at its four legs and put it on our shoulders. Let the fifth one take fire and cowdung in his hand and put a hoe on his shoulder.’ Having done so all five thieves escaped.

## MALĀR.

The Malārs are a wandering caste of moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur. Mr. H. Streatfeild writes of them in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal :—

‘They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāṇḍ, and that, having accidentally discovered, while warming himself by a fire one cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever; small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons, and especially elaborately ornamental *poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habits they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Muṇḍā village, speaking Muṇḍārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends of any ancestral home, and bury their dead in the village where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā.’

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur at the last Census of 1901<sup>1</sup> was as follows :—

Ranchi . . . . .	976
Palamau . . . . .	125
Manbhum . . . . .	824
Chota Nagpur Tributary States . . . . .	384
	<hr/>
TOTAL . . . . .	2,309
	<hr/>

In addition to these 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans.

Mr. Streatfeild has been good enough to send me a short Malār vocabulary. It fully bears out his statement that the language of the Malārs is a slang based on Nāgpuriā. Thus we find the plural suffix *man* in *bī-man*, these; *bū-man*, those; the genitive suffixes *kar* and *kēr* in forms such as *bū-kar*, his; *bū-man-kēr*, their; verbal forms such as *ṭuai-raukhis*, going wast, wentest; *ṭualak*, he has gone; *ṭuabai*, we shall go; *ṭuabā*, you will go; *ṭuabai*, they will go, and so on. So far as can be seen from the scanty materials the inflexional system is the same as in Nāgpuriā throughout. The vocabulary also is the same as in Nāgpuriā though there are several peculiar words such as *kurmuṛ*, head; *khaul*, house; *khulsā*, husband; *chēwās*, hair; *ṭuai*, going; *ṭōtmā*, neck; *ḍhaparchū*, forehead; *ḍharjmā*, liver; *tutkā*, temples; *duṛgā*, old man; *nētrai*, blood; *nōhkā*, man; *nōhkin*, woman, wife; *nōph*, breast; *pīpinmī*, eyelid; *baitinī*, food; *ladarmī*, stomach; *luluha*, wrist; *supulmī*, foot. In other cases ordinary words are disguised in various ways. In words such as *chēōṛmā*=*chamṛā*, skin; *kandpaṭhnī*=*kanpaṭī*, temples; *tarmū*=*tālū*, palate; *baīchhū*=*bāzū*, upper arm; *mīsī*=*mūchh*, moustache, we find sporadic instances of slight changes of various kinds within the words. The most common way of disguising words is by adding consonants and syllables in front or at the end, just as in numerous other argots.

<sup>1</sup> They do not appear to have been recorded in 1911.

A *k* is prefixed in words such as *kōig*=*āg*, fire; *Kirānchi*, Rānchi; *kōhāt*=*hāth*, forearm; *kōhōr*=*hār*, bone.

*Kh* is added in the front of some words; thus, *khaṅgur*, finger; *khōīkh*=*āikh*, eye; *khamrē*=*hamrē*, we; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; *khirāṛi*=*rāṇḍ*, widow.

*Ch* and *chh* are, as usual, prefixed to or substituted for labials; thus, *chibhāl*, brother; *chhētā*=*bētā*, son.

*Dh* is used in words such as *dhēr*, a seer.

*N* is used in a similar way in *nail*=*bhail*, bullock.

*B* is prefixed in pronouns and in the numeral 'one'; thus, *bī*, this; *bū*, that; *ban*, yonder; *bēk*, one.

*R* is substituted for a *p* in *rāñchlū*=*pāch*, five; *rīth*=*pīth*, back; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; and *l* has been used instead of *n* in *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel.

In *chahinbahin*, sister, the whole word has been prefixed after substituting a *ch* for the initial *b*.

In other cases words are disguised by means of various additions at the end. Such additions are:—

*kāi* or *khai*, in *rindikai*, veranda; *rōtkai*=*pēt*, belly; *durkhai*=*dwār*, door. *Kh* alone is added in *raukhō*, I was. A suffix *khulā*- occurs in *dāntkhulā*=*dāt*, tooth.

*chū* is a very common addition; thus, *gālechū*=*gāl*, cheek; *jāngchū*=*jāngh*, thigh; *jibchū*=*jibh*, tongue; *bāpchū*=*bāp*, father, and so forth.

*chh* is added in *mōrchhā*, my; *tōrchhā*, thy; cf. *mōēchā*, I; *tōēchā*, thou.

*ḍurā* has been suffixed in *kandurā*, ear.

*mā*, *mī*, occurs in *khaparmā*=*khaprā*, tiles; *thēhunmā*=*thēwnī*, knee; *bhaumā*=*bhaū*, brow; *pakhurmā*=*pakhaurā*, shoulder; *barāṛmī*=*rīḥ*, backbone; *ērmi*=*ērī*, heel; *lāmbhmī*=*nābh*, navel, etc.

*r* has been added in *nākurā*=*nāk*, nose; *khimsār*=*mās*, flesh; cf. also *uar* in verbs such as *tapuarek*, to warm oneself; *joruarek*, to light a fire; *lipuarek*, to whitewash.

*l* is suffixed in *kharchul*=*karchhā*, ladle (also Hindī); *dōl*, two, and so forth.

Further details may be ascertained from the short vocabulary which follows:—

### Numerals.

One	<i>bēk</i> ( <i>bēknōt</i> = <i>ēk-tō</i> )	Eight	<i>khātlū</i>
Two	<i>dōl</i> , <i>dōlnōt</i>	Nine	<i>naulū</i>
Three	<i>tīnlū</i>	Ten	<i>daslū</i>
Four	<i>chairlū</i>	Eleven	<i>gārmō</i>
Five	<i>rāñchlū</i>	Nineteen	<i>onāischū</i>
Six	<i>chaulū</i>	Twenty	<i>bīschū</i> , <i>bēk kōrmī</i>
Seven	<i>sātlū</i>	Forty	<i>dōl kōrmī</i>

### Pronouns.

I	<i>mōēcha</i>	Your	<i>tohōrmēkēr</i>
My	<i>mōrchhā</i>	He, that	<i>bū</i>
We	<i>khamarē</i> , <i>khamarmē</i>	His	<i>bū-kar</i>
Our	<i>khamrēkēr</i> , <i>khamar-mēkēr</i>	They	<i>būman</i>
Thou	<i>tōēchā</i>	Their	<i>būmankēr</i>
Thy	<i>tōrchhā</i>	This	<i>bī</i>
You	<i>tohōrmē</i>	Yonder	<i>bau</i>

**Human beings.**

Man	<i>nōhkā</i>	Father	<i>bāpchū</i>
Woman	<i>nōhkin</i>	Mother	<i>maichū</i>
Old man	<i>durgā</i>	Son	<i>chhētā</i>
Old woman	<i>durgī</i>	Daughter	<i>chhētī</i>
Boy	<i>chōrmā</i>	Brother	<i>chibhāi</i>
Girl	<i>chōrmī</i>	Sister	<i>chahin-bahin</i>
Husband	<i>khulsā</i>	Widower	<i>khirārā</i>
Wife	<i>nōhkin</i>	Widow	<i>khirārī</i>

**Parts of the body.**

Head	<i>kurmur</i>	Thumb	<i>tēpā khaṅgur</i>
Hair	<i>chēwās</i>	Mid finger	<i>māj khaṅgur</i>
Forehead	<i>ḍhaparchū</i>	Little finger	<i>kanī khaṅgur</i>
Temples	<i>kandpaṭhni, tutkā</i>	Chest	<i>chhātmī</i>
Eye	<i>khōīkh</i>	Breast	<i>nōph</i>
Pupil	<i>rajnā</i>	Back	<i>rith</i>
Eyebrow	<i>bhaumā</i>	Side	<i>ḍārkhari</i>
Eyelid	<i>pipinmī</i>	Stomach	<i>ladarmī; rōṭkai</i>
Eyelashes	<i>pipinmī chēwās</i>	Navel	<i>lāmbhmī</i>
Cheek	<i>gālchū</i>	Skin	<i>chēōrmā</i>
Ear	<i>kāṇḍurā</i>	Tendon	<i>sirchū</i>
Nose	<i>nākurā</i>	Flesh	<i>khimsār</i>
Mouth	<i>khumhār</i>	Liver	<i>ḍharjmā</i>
Lip	<i>ōṭ</i>	Lungs	<i>pokosmā</i>
Tooth	<i>dāntkhulā</i>	Heart	<i>kamalchū</i>
Tongue	<i>jibchū</i>	Bile	<i>pitchū</i>
Palate	<i>tarmū</i>	Bowels	<i>nanchū pōṭmanā</i>
Jaw-bone	<i>chauhmuā</i>	Blood	<i>nētrai</i>
Beard	<i>dārhi</i>	Bone	<i>kōhōr</i>
Moustache	<i>mīsī</i>	Ribs	<i>rañjermā</i>
Neck	<i>ṭōtmā</i>	Backbone	<i>barārmī</i>
Shoulder	<i>pakhurmā</i>	Thigh	<i>jāṅgchū</i>
Upper arm	<i>bāichhū</i>	Knee	<i>ṭhēhunmā</i>
Fore-arm	<i>kōhāt</i>	Ankle	<i>ghuṭnī</i>
Wrist	<i>luluha</i>	Foot	<i>supulmī</i>
Palm of hand	<i>tarhāt</i>	Sole of foot	<i>tarpuā</i>
Finger	<i>khaṅgur</i>		

**House and furniture.**

House	<i>khaul</i>	Cooking pot	<i>kōhjan</i>
Tiles	<i>khaparmā</i>	Earthen pot for	<i>nōgair</i>
Wall	<i>bhitchū</i>	carrying water	
Door	<i>durkhai</i>	Ladle	<i>kharchul</i>
Space in front	<i>kōṅgēnā</i>	Fire	<i>kōig</i>
of house		Ashes	<i>rākhchū</i>
Veranda	<i>rindikai</i>	Broom	<i>cheurhan</i>

**Verbs.**

to extinguish	<i>nijhuarek</i>	Thou goest	<i>tuathis</i>
to light a fire	<i>jōruarek</i>	He goes	<i>tuatakulis</i>
to sweep	<i>cheurhaek</i>	We go	<i>tuatī</i>
to warm oneself	<i>tapuarek</i>	You go	<i>tuatā</i>
to whitewash	<i>lipuarek</i>	They go	<i>tuathai</i>
I go	<i>tuathō</i>		

## QAṢĀĪ.

Qaṣāī or Qaṣāb is the name of the butcher caste. The word is derived from Arabic *qaṣab*, to cut. The number of Qaṣāīs returned at the Census of 1901<sup>1</sup> was 369,533, distributed as follows :—

Name.	Number.
Ajmer . . . . .	66
Andamans . . . . .	5
Assam . . . . .	23
Baluchistan . . . . .	255
Bengal . . . . .	11,093
Berar . . . . .	218
Bombay . . . . .	24,986
Central Provinces . . . . .	206
Panjab . . . . .	125,644
United Provinces . . . . .	184,150
Baroda . . . . .	851
Central India . . . . .	918
Hyderabad . . . . .	2
Kashmir . . . . .	824
Rajputana . . . . .	20,292
TOTAL . . . . .	369,533

The Qaṣāīs are commonly separated into two endogamous sub-castes, one of which kill cows and buffaloes, while the other only kill goats. In the Panjab the former call themselves *bhakkār-sikkhū*, cow killers, and the latter *mekh-sikkhū*, goat killers, or simply *sikkhū*. The latter are mostly Hindūs, the former Muhammadans of the Sunnī sect.

The Qaṣāīs seem to have a trade language of their own. During the preliminary operations of this Survey a dialect called Qaṣāiyō-kī Farsī was reported to be spoken by 2,700 persons in the Karnal District. Dr. T. Grahame Bailey has given some information about the secret language of those Qaṣāīs of the Panjab who do not kill cows.

## AUTHORITIES—

- BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qaṣāīs. Notes on Punjabi Dialects*, pp. 9f.  
 BAILEY, REV. T. GRAHAME, D.D.—*The Secret Words of the Qasai (Kasai)*. In "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas," pp 27-3ff. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. xvii. London, 1920. (A Reprint of the preceding.)

Specimens of Qaṣāī have been received from Karnal and also from the Belgaum District. The Qaṣāīs of Karnal, who numbered 5,794 at the 1901 Census, are all Muhammadans. The dialect illustrated by the specimens is of the same kind as the Qaṣāī described by Dr. Bailey. The materials received from Belgaum are stated to illustrate the language of the cow-killing Qaṣāīs. It agrees with the dialect of the Karnal Qaṣāīs in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī. In Karnal we also find Pañjābī forms such as *mazdūrā-mē*, amongst the servants. In the Belgaum specimens the dialect is much mixed with

<sup>1</sup> No Qaṣāīs were recorded under that name in 1911.

Dravidian, and it is probably due to this influence that the case of the agent has been discarded and that the sense of the actual meaning of some verbal forms has been weakened. Forms such as *thārtaũ*, am, also occur in the second and third persons in addition to *thārtai*, art, is, and *ghāḍungā*, I shall beat, is said to be used in all persons and numbers.

The orthography of the specimens does not seem to be consistent. Thus the word *tip*, see, which is written with a cerebral *t* by Dr. Bailey and in the Belgaum specimens, occurs as *tip* in the Karnal version of the Parable. The same text gives *dēwarnā*, to give, while the second Karnal specimen uses *lēwarnā*, to take, with a cerebral *n*. The sound noted *th* is probably the sound of *th* in English "think." It had, however, been written *th* in a Nāgarī transcript which accompanied the Karnal texts. In *thūr-nā*, eat, this *th* seems to represent an *ś*; compare *sūḍ*, eat, in the Belgaum list and *shūḍnā*, *shūrñā*, to eat, to drink, in the vocabulary published by Dr. Bailey. The same is the case in *thīs*, six, where Dr. Bailey has *this*; compare Arabic *sids*.

The peculiar appearance of the Qasāī argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in the Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic. Thus, *dhallā* (Bailey *talā*), three, Arabic *thalāth*; *arbā*, four, Arabic 'arba'; *khammas*, Belgaum *khammīs*, Bailey *khammas*, five, Arabic *khamis*; *thīs*, Bailey *this*, six, Arabic *sids*; *āsir*, ten, Arabic 'ashar.

Numerous other peculiar words occur in the specimens and in Dr. Bailey's List. Such are *aḍāl*, put; *akēl*, one (Hindōstānī *akēlā*, alone); *buṭ*, father, or, according to Dr. Bailey, a Jāt; *baṭlā*, rupee; *bhakkar*, cow; *bigarnā* or *bigarnā*, to die (cf. Hindōstānī *bigarnā*?); *chilknī*, ring (cf. Hindōstānī *chilaknā*, to glitter); *chishmī*, application; *chuskā*, interest; *chabīne*, tooth; *chhanakā*, boy; *dusarnā*, to say (Belgaum, compare the Kanjarī dialect of the district); *gaunā*, to get; *gaunā*, foot (in Belgaum *gudāle*; in the Karnal specimens *gaunā* is also used with the meaning of 'hand'); *ghārñā*, *ghāḍnā*, to beat, to loose; *gaimb*, thief (Bailey); *hakūk*, swine (Karnal); *hajīb*, bad (Belgaum); *hap-kē-hap* (for *sab-ke-sab*), all together; *hiḍap*, take; *kachēlā* (Belgaum), *kadrā* (Karnal), son (compare *bachchā*?); *kanēlī*, bread (Bailey *khadēlī*, *khanēlī*); *kajilī*, afternoon; *kahilā* (Karnal), *kailā* (Belgaum), rupee; *kasnā*, to pay (perhaps English 'cash'); *kīd*, give (Belgaum, compare Tamil *koḍu*); *khastā*, property; *khilas* (Karnal), *khilsī* (Belgaum), belly; *khēḍā*, village (Belgaum, Kanarese *khēḍā*); *khū*, go; *khūm*, word, noise; *khunsā*, starving; *lāgwārē* (Karnal), hundred; *mēknī*, goat; *minjālī*, tongue; *nakāt*, young, destitute, lost, angry (according to Dr. Bailey the meaning of this word is 'bad,' 'worthless'; it is used in different senses in the first specimen); *nakātī*, sin; *nand* (Karnal), *naun* (Belgaum), house; *nanḍ*, water (Bailey); *nhāt*, run; *nīrgā*, water (Belgaum); *pāḍlā*, bull; *phēkaṇī*, nose; *sihām*, share; *śēbīt*, good; *subak*, younger brother (Belgaum); *subūkḍā*, man (Belgaum); *suwālā*, good (Belgaum); *sūḍ*, eat; *thaiknā*, to become, to gather; *thārtā*, being; *thūr*, eat; *thōkaṇā*, hundred (Belgaum); *tip*, see; *ṭuluk*, sleep; *uks*, go away, and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qasāī.



Among prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kāndhū*, a Hindū (Bailey); *jh* in *jhōrā*=*thōrā*; *m* in *māḍ*, village, cf. *Sāsī nād*; *mīh*, twenty, cf. *bīs*; and *l* in *liprā*, cloth, cf. Hindōstānī *kaprā*; *land* and *nand*, house.

Of final additions I have found *k* in *bulkā*, said; *t* in *hatōtā*, hand; *kannōtyā*, ear; *n* in *akōnyā*, eye; *l* in *bandāl*, bind; *war* in *āwar*, come; *dīwar*, give, etc.; *wāḍ* in *batwāḍ*, sit; *bōlwāḍ*, call; *sunwāḍ*, hear, and so forth.

Further details will be ascertained from the specimens which follow. The first is a version of the Parable and the second a Qasāī version of a statement in court, both received from the Karnal District. The third is a popular tale in the dialect of the cow-killing Qasāīs of Belgaum. The Standard List of Words and Sentences from Belgaum will be found below on pp. 181ff.

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[ No. 51.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Akēl buṭ-kē jaur kadrē thē. Nakāt kadrē-nē buṭ-sē bulkā  
*One father-of two sons were. Young son-by father-to it-was-said*  
 ki, 'ai buṭ, khastō-kā sihām jō mujhē dēwarnā hai dēwar-dē.'  
*that, 'O father, property-of share which to-me to-be-given is giving-give.'*  
 Phir khastē unhē dēwar-diyā. Jhōrā din pichhē nakāt kadrā  
*Then property to-them giving-was-given. Few days after younger son*  
 hap-kē-hap khastē lēwar-kē dūr-kē mulk-mē uks-gayā. Wahā  
*all property having-taken distant country-to going-away-went. There*  
 thaik-kar apnē khastē kakāyat-mē urā diyē. Jab sārā uksā  
*having-gone own property luxury-in wasting was-given. When all spent*  
 chukā us mulk-mē khunsē bighar-nē lagē, aur wō kadrā nakāt  
*finished that country-in hungering to-die began, and that son low*  
 hōnē lagā. Phir us mulk-kē akēl jēdlē-kē thaik gayā. Jēdlē-nē  
*to-be began. Then that country-of one rich-of near went. Rich-one-by*  
 kadrē-kō hakūk charānē-kō uksāyā. Aur wō hakūk-kē bachē huē  
*son swine feeding-for was-sent-away. And he swine-of left been*  
 gaunō-sē apnā khilas jēdlā karnā chāhtā thā, ak kōi usē  
*refuse-with own belly good to-make wishing was, but anybody to-him*  
 dēwarē nā thā. Phir jēd hōkar khumyāyā, 'mērē buṭ-kē  
*giving not was. Again sensible having-become said, 'my father-of*  
 bahut-sē mazdūrō-kō kanēli hai, aur maī khunsā bighrū. Maī uks-kar  
*many servants-to bread is, and I hungering die. I having-risen*  
 apnē buṭ-kē pās thaikūgā aur us-sē bulkūgā ki, "ai buṭ, maī-nē  
*own father-of near will-go and him-to will-say that, "O father, me-by*  
 āsmān-kā aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur ab is lāik nahī  
*heaven-of and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and now this fit not*  
 ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū. Mujhē apnē mazdūrō-mē-sē akēl jaisā  
*that thy son called shall-go. Me own servants-in-from one like*  
 banā." "Tab uks-kar apnē buṭ-kē pās uks-gayā. Aur wōh  
*make." "Then having-gone-away own father-of near went. And he*  
 dūr thā ki us-kō tip-kar us-kē buṭ-kō rahm āyā, aur uks-kar  
*far was that him having-seen his father-to pity came, and having-gone*

galē lagāyā aur bahut chumā. Kadrē-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'ai neck was-clasped and much kissed. Son-by to-him it-was-said that, 'O but, āsmān aur tērē huzūr nakātī kī hai, aur is kābil nāhī father, heaven and of-thee in-presence sin done is, and this fit not ki tērā kadrā khumyāyā jāū.' But-nē apnē naukrō-kō khumyāyā that thy son called shall-go.' Father-by own servants-to it-was-said kē, 'jēdlē jēdlē liprē lēwar-lāo aur usē dēwar-dō; aur kadrē-kē that, 'good good clothes taking-take and him giving-give; and son-of gaunē-mē chilkni dēwar-dō aur gaunā-mē gauniyā dēwar-dō. Aur ham hand-on ring giving-give and feet-on shoes giving-give. And we thūrē aur jēdlē hō-jāē, kyū-ki yah mērā kadrā bighrā thā, may-eat and well becoming-may-go, because this my son dead was, ab jiyā hai; nakāt hō-gayā thā, ab āwarā hai.' Tab wōh now alive is; lost become-gone was, wow come is.' Then they jēd hōnē lagē. merry to-be began.

Aur us-kā jēdlā kadrā khēt-mē thā. Jab land-kē pās āwarā, And his big son field-in was. When house-of near came, gānē aur nāchnē-kī khūm sunī. Tab akēl naukar-kō khumyāyā singing and dancing-of sound was-heard. Then one servant-to it-was-said ki, 'yah kiyā hai?' Us-nē usē khumyāyā ki, 'tērā bhāī that, 'this what is?' Him-by to-him it-was-said that, 'thy brother uks-āyā hai, aur tērē but-nē kanēli thūrwāi hai, is-liyē usē back-come is, and thy father-by bread caused-to-be-eaten is, this-for him jēdlā tipā.' Us-nē nakāt hō-kar nā chāhā ki nand-mē well saw.' Him-by angry having-become not wished that house-in āwarē. Tab us-kē but-nē land-sē uks-kar kadrē-kō jēdlā kiyā. may-go. Then his father-by house-from having-gone-out son well made. Kadrē-nē but-sē khumyāyā, 'tip, itnē baras-sē maī tēri khidmat Son-by father-to it-was-said, 'see, so-many years-from I thy service kartā hū, aur kabhī tērē bulk-kō nā uksāyā; par taī-nē kabhī doing am, and ever thy word not was-reversed; but thee-by ever akēl mēknī-kā kadrā nā dēwar-diyā ki apnē dōstō-sē jēdlā one goat-of young not giving-was-given that own friends-with merry hū; aur jab tērā yah kadrā āwarī, jis-nē tērā khastā nakāt-mē might-be; and when thy this son came, whom-by thy property evil-in jhōrā kiyā, taī-nē us-kē bīyē bārī kanēli kī.' wasted was-made, thee-by him-of for-the-sake big dinner was-made.' Us-nē us-kō khumyāyā, 'ai kadrē, tū sadā mērē pās hai, aur Him-by him-to it-was-said, 'O son, thou always of-me near art, and

jō-kuchh mērā hai, sō tērā hai. Par jēdlā hōnā lāzīm thā,  
*whatever mine is, that thine is. But merry to-become proper was,*  
 kyū-ki yah tērā bhāī bighrā thā, sō jiyā hai; aur nakāt hō  
*because this thy brother dead was, he alive is; and bad having-become*  
 gayā thā, sō ab āwarā hai.  
*gone was, he now come is.'*

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[ No. 52.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QAṢĀĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

Binjhaul mād sudhtā thā. Jaṭaul-kē birādar aur ham  
*Binjhaul village being-sold was. Jaṭaul-of brothers and we*  
 hap-kē-hap akēl jagah thaikē. Binjhaul-mē udhar-sē wuh āwarē,  
*all one place became. Binjhaul-in that-side-from they came,*  
 aur idhar-sē ham khis-āē. Āpas-mē khūm karī ki  
*and this-side-from we again-went. Selves-among word was-made that*  
 mād lēwarā chāhiyē. Jaṭaulwālā-nē khumā karā ki, 'mīh  
*village to-take is-wanted. Jaṭaul-people-by word was-made that, 'twenty*  
 bisvē-kē kahilē jitnē hō rabāē sāl-kī hakāyat-sē tum dēwar-dō,  
*bisvā-of rupees as-many-as are four years-of promise-on you giving-give,*  
 aur hamārī taraf-kē bhī batlē tum kas-dō. Un-kā chuskā aur  
*and our side-of also rupees you pay. Them-of interest and*  
 kahilē rabāē sāl-mē dēwar-dēgē. Thiswē mahinē chuskā kas-diyā  
*rupees four years-in giving-shall-give. Six months interest paid*  
 karēgē.' Hap-kē-hap-nē akēl jagah thaik-kar khūm karī.  
*shall-make.' All-by one place having-gathered word was-made.*  
 Ham nand-sē khammas lāgwārē batlē lēkar rabāewē din  
*We home-from five hundred rupees having-taken one-fourth day*  
 sāl-kē batlē kas-nē āē. Manījar sāhib-kē yahā  
*earnest-money-of money to-pay came. Manager Sahib-of in-presence*  
 sāl-kē batlē kas diyē. Hakāyat karī ki, 'āsar  
*earnest-money-of money paid was-given. Promise. was-made that, 'ten*  
 aglē mīh din-mē āwar-kar bēwrā lēwar liyō. Sārhe  
*and twenty days-in having-come information taking take. With-one-half*  
 mīh hazār batlē-mē tum-kō mād dēwar-dēgē.' Manījar-nē  
*twenty thousand rupees-for you-to village giving-shall-give.' Manager-by*  
 khumā karā, 'hamārā jēdlā vilāyat-mē thaikā hai. Mād-kē sōdh  
*word was-made, 'our master Europe-in seated is. Village-of sale*  
 dēnē-kā āsar aglē mīh din mē khabar lēwar-liyō.' Mīh  
*giving-of ten and twenty days in information taking-take.' Twenty*  
 aglē āsar din-mē Bērī-kē ilāqē-kē kādū-nē purē akēl mīh  
*and ten days-in Beri-of district-of banyā-by full one twenty*

hazār-mē mād lēwarnē-ki chishmī dī. Hamē khabar  
*thousand-for village' taking-of application was-given. To-us information*  
 huī ki akēl Bērī-kā kādū mād lēwartā hai. Ham khammas  
*became that one Beri-of banyā village taking is. We five*  
 lāgwārē batlē sāi-kē kas-āē. Aisi hakāyat na  
*hundred rupees earnest-money-of paying-came. Such matter not*  
 hōwē, mād bhī gaunē na lagē aur kahilē bhī  
*should-happen, village also to-get not should-succeed and money also*  
 ghārē jāwē. Hap-kē-hap khumā kar-kē Bērī khis-gaē. Bērī  
*lost should-go. All-together word having-made Beri again-went. Beri*  
 thaik-kar hap-kē-hap-kō thaikā-kar khumā kiyā, 'tum hamārē  
*reaching all having-gathered word was-made, 'you our*  
 birādar. Kādū tumhārā hai, us-nē mād lēwarnā thāp liyā hai.  
*brother. Banyā yours is, him-by village to-take resolve taken is.*  
 Ham Jaṭaul-sē āwarē haī. Bhāichārē-sē kādū-kō khumyāō  
*We Jaṭaul-from come are. Brotherhood-on-account-of banyā-to say*  
 ki mād na lēwarē.' Kādū-sē khumā karā, 'tū hamārā  
*that village not should-take.' Banyā-to word was-made, 'thou our*  
 lālā hai. Hamārī hakāyat mān-lē; hamārē birādrā-kō mād  
*respected-sir art. Our request obey; our brothers-to village*  
 lēwarnē dē.' Kādū hakāyat mān gayā, mād lēwarnē-sē khis  
*to-take give.' Banyā request heeding went, village taking-from back*  
 gayā. Ham birādrā-nē mād lēwar-liyā.  
*went. We brother-by village taking-was-taken.*

## FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Binjhaul village was going to be sold. We and our brothers in Jaṭaul came together. They came from there and we from here to Binjhaul, and we agreed to buy the village. The Jaṭaul people said, 'pay the price which may be fixed for twenty biswā<sup>1</sup>; you might undertake to pay in four years and also our share of the money. In four years we shall refund you the money with interest, and we shall pay interest every six months.' We had all gathered in one place and consulted, and four days afterwards we came to pay five hundred rupees as earnest-money, and we paid them in the presence of the manager. He told us to come back in a month and get information, and that he might let us have the village for thirty thousand rupees. 'My master,' he said, 'is in Europe. You may get his decision about the sale in a month.' After a month a Banyā<sup>2</sup> of the Beri District made an application for getting the village at a price of twenty thousand rupees, and we were informed that the Banyā was going to buy it. We had paid five hundred rupees in earnest-money and it would be too bad not to get the village and also to lose our money. We then consulted and went to Beri, and then we all came together and said, 'you are our brothers. There is a Banyā amongst you, and he has resolved to buy the village. We have now come from Jaṭaul. For the sake of our kinship tell the Banyā not to buy the village.' They said to him, 'you are our respected master; listen to our words and let our brothers have the village.' The Banyā took notice of their request and withdrew from the business. Then we brothers got the village.

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<sup>1</sup> A *biswā* is the twentieth part of a *bighā*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *kāḍū*, here translated 'Banyā,' usually means 'grain-parcher.'

[ No. 53.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

QASĀĪ.

## SPECIMEN III.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ekkan	khēḍe-me	Rāmayyā	kaṇē-kā	ekkan	patēl	thārtā-thā.	Une
One	village-in	Rāmayyā	called	one	patēl	was.	He
ekkan	rōjū	bajār-ku	khū-huwā-thā,	taw	whā	suwālā	khammis
one	day	bazar-to	went,	then	there	good	five
Gōvē-kā	āmb	mōl-ku-hidap-kō	nann-ku	awaryā.			Us-ku
Goa-of	mangoes	having-bought	house-to	came.			Him-to
arabā-jaṇ	kachēlē	thārtē-the.	Un-kā	nau	Sank	Bāla	
four-persons	sons	were.	Them-of	names	Sank	Bāla	
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	apaṇi	arabā	jaṇ	kachēlē-kū	bōlwād-ko
Bhīma	Haṇama.	Patēl	own	four	persons	sons	having-called
dusāryā,	'kachēlē,	hidap,	maī	bajār-mē-si	yō	khammis	
said,	'sons,	lo,	by-me	bazar-in-from	these	five	
āmb	lewaryā-hai.	Tume	arabā	jaṇ	arabā	hidap-ke	
mangoes	taken-are.	You	four	persons	four	having-taken	
khammis-kā	āmb	tumāre	ammā-ku	kīd.'		E	banat
fifth	mango	your	mother-to	give.'		These	words
sunwād-ke	ō	kachēlē-ku	khuś	huwādā.		Uno	aīsā
having-heard	those	sons-to	pleasure	became.		By-them	such
suwālā	āmb-phal	kab-bī	ṭipyā-ch-natte.		Uno	yō	phal
nice	mango-fruits	ever-even	seen-not-were.		By-them	these	fruits
hidap-ke	khū-hō-ke	dusārē-wāisā	batwād-karwād-ke			śūdē.	
having-taken	having-gone	said-as	divided-made-having			were-eaten.	
Kajilī-ku	ṭuluk-te	wakht-me	Rāmayyā	kachēlē-ku		bōlwād-ke	
Evening-at	sleeping	time-in	Rāmayyā	sons		having-called	
dusāryā,	'pyār	kachēlē,	tāwach	kīdyātā	āmb	kēsa	thārtā-the ?'
said,	'dear	sons,	them-only	given	mangoes	how	were ?'
Use	Sank	kaṇē-kā	tuwānā	kachēlā	uttar	kīdyā,	'bābā, ō
To-that	Sank	called	eldest	son	answer	gave,	'father, that
phal	miḷe	bahut	śēbīt	diswādya.	Ō	bahut	śēbīt phal
fruit	to-me	much	good	appeared.	That	very	good fruit



<u>thārtai.</u>	Maĩ	us-ki	binjya	jatan	karwāḍ-ke	<u>tharā-liyā-hai.</u>
<i>is.</i>	<i>By-me</i>	<i>that-of</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>having-made</i>	<i>kept-taken-is.</i>
Use	nirgā-ke	rōjū	śuru	hōwāḍ-ke	wakt-me	pēr-wāḍtaũ.'
<i>That</i>	<i>rain-of</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>beginning</i>	<i>having-become</i>	<i>time-in</i>	<i>am-sowing.'</i>

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### FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

In a certain village there lived a Patēl named Rāmāyā. One day when he had been to the market, he purchased five excellent mangoes and brought them home. He had four sons, Sank, Bāla, Bhīma and Haṇama. He called his four sons together and said to them, 'children, look here, I have brought these five mangoes from the bazar. Keep four of them for yourselves and give the fifth one to your mother.' The children were pleased to hear these words ; they had never before seen such nice mangoes. They took the fruit away and divided them among themselves as they had been told. At bed-time Rāmāyā called his children and said, 'dear children, how did you find the mangoes that were then given to you ?' To this Sank, the eldest son, replied, 'father, I found the fruit very good. It is an excellent fruit. I have preserved the stone that I may sow it when the rainy season sets in.'

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## SIKALGĀRĪ.

The caste known as *saiqalgars*, *siqligars*, *sikligars*. etc., are armourers and polishers of metal. The name is a Persian word, *ṣaiqal-gar*, a cleaner, polisher, derived from the Arabic base *ṣaqal*, to polish.

Name.

‘Since the disarming of the country,’ says Mr. Crooke, ‘the trade of the armourer and cutler has become depressed. The ordinary Siqligar seen in towns is a trader of no worth, and his whole stock-in-trade is a circular whetstone (*sān*) worked by a strap between two posts fixed in the ground. He sharpens a four-bladed knife, a pair of scissors or two razors for a pice. Their status is that of ordinary Muhammāns of the lower artizan class.’

The number of Sikligars returned at the Census of 1911 was 5,922, of whom 2,096 were recorded in the Rajputana Agency, the rest being shown as ‘elsewhere.’

Number.

Of these 4,548 were returned as Hindūs, 818 as Sikhs, and 556 as Musalmāns.

We do not possess any information to the effect that the Sikligars, as a whole, possess a language of their own. A separate dialect called Sikalgārī was, however, during the preliminary operations of this Survey returned from the Belgaum District of Bombay, where it was said to be spoken by 25 individuals in the Sampgaon *ta’luqa* in the south of the district. Two specimens and the Standard List of Words and Sentences in Sikalgārī have been forwarded from that place.

Language.

To judge from these materials Sikalgārī in most particulars agrees with Gujarātī. Compare forms such as *dikarō*, son; *dikarā*, sons; *gāyḍīyō*, cows; the case suffixes dative *-nē*; ablative *-tō* (Gujarātī *-thō*); genitive *-nō*; locative *-mā*; pronouns such as *mārō*, my; *ham*, we; *tumē*, you; verbal forms such as *chhē*, is; *hotō*, was; *lidyō*, took; *malyū*, it was got; *charāwā-nō*, to tend; *thēl*, become, and so forth.

Some few characteristics, however, point in other directions. With regard to phonology we may note the frequent doubling of consonants and the common disaspiration of aspirates; compare *chhukkō*, hungering; *chōllāwā*, to be called; *duttīnē*, having eaten; *nittē*, always; *guttā*, bale; *khubō*, standing; *sāḍīnē*, having searched; *hatō*, hand. Both features are found in other Gipsy languages. The former may point towards Pañjābī; the latter reminds us of Dravidian.

Of inflexional forms which are not Gujarātī we may note the periphrastic future in *gō*; thus, *thauṅgā*, we shall become. Similar forms of the future are also used in Rājasthānī. The termination of the singular is *gō* as in Eastern Rājasthānī.

The *g*-future is also used in some Bhīl dialects,<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that there is a connexion between Gipsy dialects such as Sikalgārī and Bhīlī. Thus it is probable that the dialect described as Siyālgirī in Vol. IX, Part iii, pp. 197 and ff., has something to do with Sikalgārī.

Connexion with Siyālgirī.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II, Part iii, p. 7.

Both dialects mainly agree with Gujarātī. They also agree in not possessing the case of the agent, in dropping a *v* before *i* and *ē*, and in the frequent use of a *kh* instead of an *s*. This *kh* has been treated as a spirant *kh* in dealing with Siyālgirī. In Sikalgārī, however, it is certainly an aspirate as in other Gipsy argots. The Siyālgirs of Midnapore, who are supposed to have immigrated from the west some five or six generations ago, now follow a variety of occupations. Some sell fish, some make and sell bamboo mats, some are cultivators, and a few sell groceries. If they were originally Sikligars, the many points in which their dialect agrees with Sikalgārī are easily explained. The points of disagreement do not present any serious obstacle to this hypothesis, if we remember that the Siyālgirs have long lived among strangers and must necessarily have come under the influence of the dialects spoken by their surroundings. It is more to be wondered that the two forms of speech still present so many points of agreement.

The substitution of a *kh* instead of an *s* and also of other sounds in Sikalgārī mentioned above must be compared with the various devices for disguising words in other Gipsy dialects. Sikalgārī is not a simple dialect, but also an artificial argot. There are several peculiar words such as *kōyrā*, people, men; *khālmānyū*, swine; *khēḍō*, village; *khōl*, house; *gār*, give; *chingā*, dress; *chōkō*, good; *chhimnō*, horse; *dut*, eat; *dhōtriyō*, belly; *nikaṭ*, run; *nikar*, die; *nikḍiyō*, thief; *pāḍō*, bull; *poṭṭū*, child; *ranban*, wife; *sabādā*, rupee.

Moreover we find some of the common devices of disguising ordinary words by means of various additions. A *kh* is sometimes prefixed before words beginning with a vowel; thus, *khubō*, standing; *khuppar*, above; *kheklā-mā*, in so much, in the meantime; *khaikīnē*, having heard; *kh* is also frequently substituted for an initial *s*; thus, *khāt*, seven; *khāmō*, before; *khārā*, all; *khāpḍiyō*, he was found; *khō*, hundred. In *khyāpāryō*, a tradesman, it has replaced a *v*, cf. Gujarātī *vēpārī*.

*Ch* and *chk* are apparently only substituted for labials, as in other Gipsy argots; compare *chōllāwā*, to be called; *chāyē*, way, means, if this is derived from *upāy*; *chhāndī*, having bound; *chhukkō*, hungering.

An *n* has been substituted for an initial *p* in *nāpchī*, sin.

Several words receive additions at the end, and a final consonant is often dropped before such additions.

Several additions contain a guttural. The simplest one consists of a *kh*, which is substituted for a final *s*; thus, *kāpukh*=*kapās*, cotton; *ikkh*, twenty; *dakhalā*, ten; *manekkh*, man; *warakh*, year. A *ṭ* is added to this *kh* in forms such as *ākhṭī*, she came; *lēkhtyō*, tookest. In *nikaṭ*, run, *kaṭ* seems to be used in the same way. The addition *gōṭ* in *kagōtyō*, did; *ghāgōṭō*, put, is perhaps also connected. An *n* is also sometimes added to these suffixed gutturals; thus, *jākan*, he goes; *gaknyō*, went; *chhōknō*, boy, compare Gujarātī *chhōkrō*; *rhākan*, he lives; *rhakanyō*, he remained. We may add the suffix *gal* in words such as *ghāgal*, put; *jūgal*, go; *dhagāl-wā-nū*, of catching; *phaglinē*, again.

It is tempting to compare these additions with the Muṇḍā suffixes *kaṭ*, *kan*, which play a great rôle in the conjugation of verbs.

A *khl* or *kl* has been added in words such as *ekhlā*, so many; *kekhalā*, how many? *kheklā-mā*, so-much-in, in the meantime.

A *ch* has been suffixed in words such as *nā<sub>1</sub>chī*, sin; *mhēchvī-lē*, putting take; compare Gujarātī *mēlwū*.

Other additions are *t*, *d* and *p*; thus, *dēwṭā-nū*, of God; *jiwṭō*, alive; *nākōḍū*, nose; *mhōḍū*, mouth; *anpū*, food.

For further particulars the specimens which follow should be consulted. The first is a version of the Parable, the second a popular tale. The Standard List of Words and Sentences will be found on pp. 181ff.

[ No. 54.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

## SPECIMEN I.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ēk manekh-nē bē dikarā hotā. Tinā-mā nhānchōn dikarō  
*One man-to two sons were. Them-among by-the-younger son*  
 āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, 'yabā, tārī jingānī-mā ma-nē ākhtwānō wātō  
*own father-to it-was-said, 'father, thy property-in me-to coming share*  
 ma-nē gār.' Yabō tinā-mā āpnō jingī wātīnē  
*me-to give.' By-the-father them-among own property having-divided*  
 gāryō. Nhānchōn dikarō āpnō wātō line dūr gām-nē  
*was-given. Younger son own share having-taken far country-to*  
 jāknīnē ghanā din thayā naī, kheklā-mā tō dhundh thainē  
*having-gone many days were not, that-in he riotous having-become*  
 āpnō jingānī hāl-kagōtyō. Tō im karīnē-par tē gāmō-mā  
*own property wasted-was-made. He so having-done-on that village-in*  
 jabar dukāl paḍīnē ti-nē garībī ākhtī. Tō tē gāmō-mā  
*mighty famine having-fallen him-to poverty came. He that village-in*  
 ēk manekh-kan tsākri rhakhanyō. Ē manekh ti-nē khālmānyū  
*one man-near in-service remained. This man him swine*  
 charāwānō khētar-nē walāy gāryō. Tyā chhukkō kalwal  
*to-graze field-to sending was-given. There hungry afflicted*  
 thainē khālmānyū dutwānō kōṇḍō-bī dūtī-nē dhōtriyō  
*having-become swine eaten husks-even having-eaten belly*  
 bhagli-lētō-tō, pan ti-nē ki-kantū kāyī mālyū naī. Im  
*filling-was, but him-to anybody-from anything was-got not. So*  
 thōknā din gakuyā. āpnō pāchānī wāt mālum paḍīnē tō āpnā  
*few days passed, own former state known having-fallen he own*  
 man-mā kadyō, 'mārā yabā-kan rhayelnō ghanā tsākryāw-nē dhōtriyō  
*mind-in said, 'my father-near living many servants-to belly*  
 bhārī-nē khuppar anpū māltū-tū; mī hyā chhukkō nikartaū.  
*having-filled above food obtained-was; I here hungry am-dying.*  
 Mī khubō-thārīnē yabā-kan jāknīnē kadyō, "yabā mī dēwṭā-nū  
*I having-got-up father-near having-gone said, "father, by-me God-of*

pāp yabā-nū pāp chhāndī lidyō. Mi tārā dikarō karinē  
*sin father-of sin having-tied was-taken. I thy son having-said*  
 chōllāwā jōgō naī. Ma-nē ēk tsākri dākal tārā-kan  
*to-be-called worthy not. Me one servant like of-thee-near*  
 mhēchvī-lē.”” Im kainē tyā-tō tō khubō-thārinē āpnā  
*keep.”” So having-said there-from he up-having-arisen own*  
 yabā-kan jākantō-tō. Pachē yabō dūr-tō ti-nē dēkhinē mayā  
*father-near going-was. Then father far-from him having-seen pity*  
 āvinē nikṭinē jākninē dhag-linē maṭṭi gāryō.  
*having-come having-run having-gone having-embraced kiss was-given.*  
 Pachē dikar yabā-nē kadyō, ‘yabā, mī dēwtā-nū khāmō tārā  
*Then son father-to said, ‘father, by-me God-of before of-thee*  
 khāmō nāpchi kagōṭyō. Ma-nē tārā dikarō karinē chōlāwu  
*before sin was-done. Me thy son having-said to-call*  
 nakō.’ I-nē yabō āpnō tsākarwālā-nē kadyō, ‘chōkō chingā  
*is-not-fit.’ This-to father own servants-to said, ‘good dress*  
 lāvine mārā dikarā-nē ghāgōṭō; nāpchā-mā khangōṭi ghāgōṭo,  
*having-brought my son-to put-on; finger-on ring put,*  
 pagō-mā jōḍwā ghāgōṭō; dutwān-nō tayāri kagōṭō; ham dutti-nē  
*feet-on shoes put; dinner-of preparation make; we having-eaten*  
 santōs thauṅā, sakarwā-kai-tō, yē mārō dikarō nikaryō-tō, phaglinē  
*merry shall-become, because, this my son dead-was, again*  
 jiwtō āyō; nikṭinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō.’ Ē khaikinē khārā  
*alive came; lost gone-was, was-found.’ This having-heard all*  
 santōs thayā.  
*merry became.*

Yē wakhat-mā ti-nō mōtō dikarō khētar-mā hotō. Tō khōl-kan  
*This time-in his elder son field-in was. He house-near*  
 āwtākhū ti-nē gānū nāchanū khaikū āyū. Tō tē tsākar-wālā-mā  
*coming him-to singing dancing to-hear came. He those servants-among*  
 ek-nē chōlāyinē, ‘sū thāwā lāgū-ch?’ kadyō. Tyā-nō tō, ‘tārō  
*one-to having-called, ‘what becoming is?’ said. Him-to he, ‘thy*  
 bhāyī ākhtyō-ch; tō chōkō ākhtyō karinē dutwā kagōṭyō,’ im  
*brother came-even; he well came having-said dinner was-made,’ so*  
 kadyō. Yē khaikinē mōtō dikarō rekh-āyinē māhi gaknyō  
*said. This having-heard elder son having-got-angry inside went*  
 naī, karinē ti-nō yabō baharō āvinē, ‘māhi ākhtal,’  
*not, having-done his father outside having-come, ‘inside come,’*  
 karinē ti-nē ghanō kadyō. Ti-nē tō āpnō yabā-nē kadyō, ‘mī  
*having-said him-to much said. That-to he own father-to said, ‘I*

ekhlā warakh tallakh tārō tsākri kagōṭinē kadī tāri wāt  
*so-many years up-to thy service having-done ever thy command*  
 bhāgyō naī. Pan mī mārā mhaitarṇē maḷinē duṭwā  
*was-broken not. But I my friends having-gathered feast*  
 kagōṭwādē tū ma-nē kadī ēk bakrō-bī gāryō naī. Pantū  
*making-for thou me-to ever one goat-even was-given not. But*  
 rāṇḍ-nō saṅgat paḍinē tāri jingī khāri gaḷi-gayō-tō  
*harlots-of in-company having-fallen thy property all squandering-gone*  
 yē tārō dikarō khōl-nē ākhtaltākhū tū ti-nē walē duṭwā  
*this thy son house-to coming-on thou of-him for-the-sake dinner*  
 kagōṭyō. Yabō dikarō-nē kadyō, 'tū mārā-kan nittē rhasī.  
*was-made. Father son-to said, 'thou of-me-near always art.*  
 Mū-kan raheltō khārā tārā-ch mayē. Nikaryō-tō tāri bhāyī  
*Me-near being all thine-alone is. Dead-was thy brother*  
 phaglinē jiwṭō āyō; nikṭinē gaknyō-tō, khāpdyō, karinē ham santōs  
*again alive came; lost gone-was, was-found, having-said we merry*  
 thawānū barōbar chhē.  
*to-become proper is.'*

[ No. 55.]

## GIPSY LANGUAGES.

SIKALGĀRĪ.

## SPECIMEN II.

DISTRICT BELGAUM.

Ijāpur-mā ēk khyāpāryō kāpukh-nō ghanō khyāpār kagōṭṭō-tō. Ēk  
*Bijapur-in one merchant cotton-of large trade doing-was. One*  
 din tē gām-mā-tū kāyī nikḍiyā malinē wakat sādīnē  
*day that village-in-from some thieves having-gathered time having-sought*  
 tē khyāpāryā-nō khōl-mā-nū ghan kāpukh-nā gaṭṭā nikḍi karīnē  
*that merchant-of house-in-of many cotton-of bales stealing having-made*  
 li-gayā. Pachē to khyāpāryō bādsahā-kan jāknīnē āpnō khōl-mā  
*took-away. Then that merchant king-near having-gone own house-in*  
 nikḍi-thēl wāt kadyō. 'Im nikḍi thawānī ghanī sarmundī  
*theft-committed story told. 'So theft to-become very disgraceful*  
 wāt chhē; āj-nō din dharīnē chār din-mā tū tē nikḍiyā-nē  
*matter is; today-of day including four days-in thou those thieves*  
 naī dhaglyō-tō tārū mātū nikāruṅgā,' im ti-nē hukum kagōṭyō. Yē  
*not caught-hast thy head will-cut-off,' so him-to order made. This*  
 wāt khaikīnē kotwāl nikḍiyā-nē patiyō kāḍwānē walē ghañṭōl  
*word having-heard kotwāl thieves-of way tracing for much*  
 khaṭpaṭ kagōṭyō, pan tē khāpdyā naī.  
*labour did, but they were-found not.*  
 Kheklā-mā bādsahā-nō gāral chār din kharīnē pāchmō din  
*This-much-in king-of given four days having-expired fifth day*  
 ākhtyō. 'Kotwāl-nō mātū nikāruṅgā,' karīnē gām-mā ḍaṅgōrō  
*came. 'Kotwāl-of head will-cut-off,' having-said village-in drum*  
 khojādyō. Yē khaikīnē khārā kōyrā taḷmaḷyā; sakarwākaitō  
*was-beaten. This having-heard all people were-grieved; because*  
 kotwāl khārā-nē chōkō hotō. Yē khabar khaikīnē tē gām-mā-nō  
*kotwāl all-to dear was. This news having-heard that village-in-of*  
 ēk śyānō manekh bādsahā-kan jāknīnē hatō jōḍīnē māgi  
*one clever man king-near having-gone hands having-joined begging*  
 lidyō.  
*was-taken.*



**FREE TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.**

A merchant in Bijapur was dealing in cotton on a large scale. One day some thieves from the city formed a gang and, seeking an opportunity, stole a number of cotton bales from the merchant's house. Then the merchant went to the King and informed him of the theft committed in his house. The King (sent for the Kotwāl) and gave him the following order, 'that such a theft should have been committed in my town, is really a disgrace. If you fail to trace the thieves within four days, I shall have you beheaded.' At this the Kotwāl tried his best to trace the thieves, but they were not found.

In the meantime the four days granted by the King expired, and the fifth day came. It was announced by the beating of drums that the Kotwāl was to be decapitated. All the people were grieved to hear this, for the Kotwāl was very popular. Hearing this news a clever man in the town went to the King, and joining his hands begged.

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## GULGULIĀ.

The Gulguliās are a wandering non-Aryan tribe, who live by hunting, teaching monkeys to dance, selling indigenous drugs, begging, and petty thieving. Sir Herbert Risley thinks that they are a branch of the Bediyās.

At the Census of 1911, 853 Gulguliās were returned, 824 from Bihar and Orissa and 29 from elsewhere.

No information about the language of the Gulguliās is available in Census Reports, and no such dialect was reported during the preliminary operations of this Survey. At the Census of 1901 it was, however, reported from the Hazaribagh District that the Gulguliās do not ordinarily speak a separate dialect, but that they make use of a kind of argot when they intend to prevent others from understanding what they say. Three short sentences in this jargon were forwarded to Sir Edward Gait, the then Superintendent of the Census operations in Bengal, and he has been good enough to place them at the disposal of this Survey. They show that this argot is of the same kind as other secret jargons. In the first place there are some peculiar words such as *ṭebigō*, fell; *lugigō*, died; *kutāchhi*, have eaten; *liōr*, tempest; *nēmru*, bullock; *nāhkat*, in the house. Some of these are well known from other argots, compare Sāsī *ṭaunā*, fall; *lugnā*, die; *dūtnā*, eat; *nād*, village; Garōdī *nānd*, house. Besides this, ordinary words are disguised by changing their initials. Thus *kh* is substituted for *b* in *khīāh*=*biyāh*, wedding, and for *p* in *kheāch*=*pāch*, five; *jh* for *t* in *jhīn-gō*=*tīn*, three; *n* for *g* in *nāchh*=*gāchh*, tree, and so forth. I now give the sentences themselves with an inter-linear translation.

Kōrāet	liōr	ṭebigō;	jhīn-gō	nāchh	ṭebigō,	kheāch-gō	nēmru
<i>Last-night</i>	<i>a-tempest</i>	<i>fell;</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trees</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>bullocks</i>

lugigō.  
died.

Jhātu-sēti	nōpi	kutāchhi,	nāhkat	kōnāgi	nōpi	chhakhālō.
<i>Yesterday-from</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>eaten-have,</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>food (?)</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>is.</i>

Hamar	pānhir	khīāh	bhēkhaligō,	jamāē	nāhkat	chhakhālō.
<i>My</i>	<i>daughter's</i>	<i>wedding</i>	<i>became,</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>	<i>house-in</i>	<i>is.</i>



**STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE GIPSY  
LANGUAGES.**

# STANDARD LIST OF WORDS AND SENTENCES

English.	Ôḍkī (Cutch).	Sṣṣī (Ordinary).	Sṣṣī (Criminal).
1. One . . .	Ēk . . .	Ēk . . .	Bēk . . .
2. Two . . .	Ḍon . . .	Dō . . .	Dhōr . . .
3. Three . . .	Tin . . .	Tin . . .	Thēr . . .
4. Four . . .	Chār . . .	Chār . . .	Chang . . .
5. Five . . .	Pāch . . .	Pañj . . .	Nāch . . .
6. Six . . .	Chha . . .	Chē . . .	Nhē . . .
7. Seven . . .	Sāt . . .	Sat . . .	Nhat . . .
8. Eight . . .	Āṭh . . .	Aṭh . . .	Koṭh . . .
9. Nine . . .	Nau . . .	Nau . . .	Khaũ . . .
10. Ten . . .	Ḍas . . .	Das . . .	Khas . . .
11. Twenty . . .	Vīs . . .	Wī . . .	Khīs . . .
12. Fifty . . .	Pachās . . .	Pañjāh . . .	Nañjāh . . .
13. Hundred . . .	Sō . . .	Sau . . .	Nhan . . .
14. I . . .	Hē . . .	Haũ . . .	Haũ . . .
15. Of me . . .	Māchā . . .	Mērā . . .	Mērgā . . .
16. Mine . . .	Māchā . . .	Mērā . . .	Mērgā . . .
17. We . . .	Amī . . .	Ham . . .	Ham . . .
18. Of us . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
19. Our . . .	Am-chā . . .	Mhārā . . .	Mhārgā . . .
20. Thou . . .	Tũ . . .	Taũ . . .	Taũ . . .
21. Of thee . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
22. Thine . . .	Tidhā . . .	Tērā . . .	Tērgā . . .
23. You . . .	Tamī . . .	Tam . . .	Tam . . .
24. Of you . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .
25. Your . . .	Tam-chā . . .	Tuhārā . . .	Tuhārgā . . .

Kôlhâṭi (Akola).	Gārōḍi.	Myānwālê.
Bêk . . . .	Ekmû . . . .	Khêk . . . .
Dhôr . . . .	Dulmû . . . .	Dôg . . . .
Thêr . . . .	Tinmû . . . .	Têg . . . .
Nyâr . . . .	Chyârmû . . . .	Chôg . . . .
Nâch . . . .	Pâchmû . . . .	Nâch . . . .
Chhê . . . .	Chhêmû . . . .	Chhêlû . . . .
Sâtta . . . .	Sâtmû . . . .	Nhatêlû . . . .
Wôṭha . . . .	Ātmû . . . .	Khôṭ . . . .
Naw . . . .	Naumû . . . .	Navêlû . . . .
Dâhâ . . . .	Dasmtû . . . .	Dasêlû . . . .
Bis . . . .	Bismû . . . .	Nis . . . .
Nannâs . . . .	Châlîs-dasmtû . . . .	Nachâs . . . .
Sô . . . .	Saumû . . . .	Nhō . . . .
Hû . . . .	Mi . . . .	Mê . . . .
Mêrâ . . . .	Mêrō . . . .	Mêrō . . . .
Mêrâ . . . .	Mêrō . . . .	Mêrō . . . .
Ham . . . .	Ham . . . .	Hamê . . . .
Hamârâ . . . .	Hamârō . . . .	Hamârō . . . .
Hamârâ . . . .	Hamârō . . . .	Hamârō . . . .
Tû . . . .	Tû . . . .	Tû . . . .
Têrâ . . . .	Têrō . . . .	Têrō . . . .
Têrâ . . . .	Têrō . . . .	Têrō . . . .
Tam . . . .	Tum . . . .	Tumê . . . .
Tumârâ . . . .	Tumârō . . . .	Tumârō . . . .
Tumârâ . . . .	Tumârō . . . .	Tumârō . . . .

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
Bēk; khakēlā . . .	Ekkap . . . .	Bēk . . . .
Dubēlū . . . .	Jaṇḍ . . . .	Dhōr . . . .
Tibēlū . . . .	Dhallā . . . .	Phēr . . . .
Chabēlū . . . .	Arabā . . . .	Chauk . . . .
Pachēlū . . . .	Khammis . . . .	Nāch . . . .
Chhabēlū . . . .	Thīs . . . .	Nhē . . . .
Satēlū . . . .	Khammis-jaṇḍ . . . .	Nāth . . . .
Khaṭēlū . . . .	Khammis-dhallā . . . .	Kōṭ . . . .
Namēlū . . . .	Oṇe-āsir . . . .	Khanau . . . .
Dasēlū . . . .	Āsir . . . .	Khas . . . .
Bisēlū . . . .	Mī . . . .	Khis . . . .
Rachās . . . .	Khādō-ṭhōkaṇḍ . . . .	Machās . . . .
Sawēlū . . . .	Ṭhōkaṇḍ . . . .	Khanū . . . .
Maĩ . . . .	Maĩ . . . .	Hũ . . . .
Mērō . . . .	Mērō . . . .	Mērō . . . .
Mērō . . . .	Mērō . . . .	Mērō . . . .
Ham; maĩ . . . .	Hamē . . . .	Kham . . . .
Mērō . . . .	Hamārō . . . .	Khamārā . . . .
Mērō . . . .	Hamārō . . . .	Khamārā . . . .
Taĩ; tū . . . .	Yō . . . .	Nū . . . .
Tērō . . . .	Yurōkō . . . .	Tērā . . . .
Tērō . . . .	Yurōkō . . . .	Tērā . . . .
Taĩ; tū . . . .	Tumē . . . .	Num . . . .
Tērō . . . .	Tumārō . . . .	Numhārā . . . .
Tērō . . . .	Tumārō . . . .	Numhārā . . . .

# IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES.

Qasāi.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Ekkan . . . . .	Ēk . . . . .	1. One.
Jauḍ . . . . .	Bē . . . . .	2. Two.
Dhallā . . . . .	Tan . . . . .	3. Three.
Arbā . . . . .	Chār . . . . .	4. Four.
Khammis . . . . .	Pāch . . . . .	5. Five.
<u>Th</u> is . . . . .	Chhē . . . . .	6. Six.
Khammi-jauḍ . . . . .	Khāt . . . . .	7. Seven.
Khammi-dhallā . . . . .	Āṭ . . . . .	8. Eight.
Onṇā-āsir . . . . .	Nau . . . . .	9. Nine.
Āsir . . . . .	Dakhalū . . . . .	10. Ten.
Mi . . . . .	Īkh . . . . .	11. Twenty.
Pachyās . . . . .	Bē-īkh-dakh . . . . .	12. Fifty.
Thōkanā . . . . .	Khō . . . . .	13. Hundred.
Maĩ . . . . .	Mi . . . . .	14. I.
Mērā . . . . .	Mārū . . . . .	15. Of me.
Mērā . . . . .	Mārū . . . . .	16. Mine.
Hām . . . . .	Ham . . . . .	17. We.
Hamārā . . . . .	Hamārū . . . . .	18. Of us.
Hamārā . . . . .	Hamārū . . . . .	19. Our.
Tū . . . . .	Tū . . . . .	20. Thou.
Tērā . . . . .	Tārū . . . . .	21. Of thee.
Tērā . . . . .	Tārū . . . . .	22. Thine.
Tume . . . . .	Tumē . . . . .	23. You.
Tumārā . . . . .	Tumārū . . . . .	24. Of you.
Tumārā . . . . .	Tumārū . . . . .	25. Your.



English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sṣāī (Ordinary).	Sṣāī (Criminal).
26. He . . . .	Sū . . . .	Uh . . . .	Buh . . . .
27. Of him . . . .	Tē-chā . . . .	Uṣkā . . . .	Buskā . . . .
28. His . . . .	Tē-chā . . . .	Uṣkā . . . .	Buskā . . . .
29. They . . . .	Sū, (awē) . . . .	Uh . . . .	Buh . . . .
30. Of them . . . .	Tē-chā, (awā-chā) . . . .	Uṣkā . . . .	Buṣkā . . . .
31. Their . . . .	Tē-chā, (awā-chā) . . . .	Uṣkā . . . .	Buṣkā . . . .
32. Hand . . . .	Hāth . . . .	Hāth . . . .	Khōth . . . .
33. Foot . . . .	Pag . . . .	Pair . . . .	Nair . . . .
34. Nose . . . .	Nāk . . . .	Nákk . . . .	Khakk . . . .
35. Eye . . . .	Ākh . . . .	Ākkh . . . .	Kukkhī . . . .
36. Mouth . . . .	Mō . . . .	Mūh . . . .	Khūh . . . .
37. Tooth . . . .	Ḍāt . . . .	Dand . . . .	Khadand . . . .
38. Ear . . . .	Kān . . . .	Kānn . . . .	Kānn . . . .
39. Hair . . . .	Wār . . . .	Bāl . . . .	Bāl . . . .
40. Head . . . .	Thōṛ . . . .	Sir . . . .	Nhis . . . .
41. Tongue . . . .	Jibh . . . .	Jibh . . . .	Jibh . . . .
42. Belly . . . .	Pēt . . . .	Pētṭ . . . .	Netṭ . . . .
43. Back . . . .	Pūth . . . .	Pitṭh . . . .	Nitṭh . . . .
44. Iron . . . .	Lōḍhē . . . .	Lōhā . . . .	Lōhā . . . .
45. Gold . . . .	Sōṇē . . . .	Saunnā . . . .	Baunnā . . . .
46. Silver . . . .	Rūpē . . . .	Chāndī . . . .	Chāndī . . . .
47. Father . . . .	Bā . . . .	Bāpp . . . .	Bāptā . . . .
48. Mother . . . .	Āi . . . .	Mā . . . .	Mautī . . . .
49. Brother . . . .	Bhāu . . . .	Bhāi . . . .	Bhautā . . . .
50. Sister . . . .	Bāṇ . . . .	Bān . . . .	Dhabān . . . .
51. Man . . . .	Māṇas . . . .	Banda . . . .	Kōdmī . . . .
52. Woman . . . .	Bāyri . . . .	Janānī . . . .	Bārmī . . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ō . . . . .	Wō . . . . .	Ū . . . . .
Us-kā . . . . .	Wō-kē . . . . .	Wākō . . . . .
Us-kā . . . . .	Wō-kē . . . . .	Wākō . . . . .
Ō . . . . .	Yē . . . . .	Vē . . . . .
Un-kā . . . . .	Yē-kē . . . . .	Wākōyi . . . . .
Un-kā . . . . .	Yē-kē . . . . .	Wākōyi . . . . .
Hōtta; kōhōt . . . . .	Gōnō . . . . .	Gōt . . . . .
Pāw; gōnā . . . . .	Gōnālī . . . . .	Gōṇē . . . . .
Khanākka; nākka . . . . .	Nakēchī . . . . .	Khinak . . . . .
Kōkkha . . . . .	Kanēchī . . . . .	Gidi . . . . .
Khumma . . . . .	Khōmdā . . . . .	Chhōṇḍō . . . . .
Nātta . . . . .	Dāḍwā . . . . .	Kōḍ . . . . .
Rānna . . . . .	Kānēchī . . . . .	Rikan . . . . .
Nāy . . . . .	Turwālē . . . . .	Rāl . . . . .
Tummī . . . . .	Tōlchō . . . . .	Niskō . . . . .
Nib . . . . .	Jibēchī . . . . .	Jib . . . . .
Nēt . . . . .	Ḍhamuklō . . . . .	Rēpaṭ . . . . .
Niṭṭh . . . . .	Panēchī . . . . .	Niṭ . . . . .
Lōkhaṇḍ . . . . .	Dharālī . . . . .	Lhō . . . . .
Bōnnā . . . . .	Bōngā . . . . .	Bōnō . . . . .
Nāri . . . . .	Gandilō . . . . .	Nāndī . . . . .
Bāptā . . . . .	Bhāwutō . . . . .	Māwutō . . . . .
Bhāwtī . . . . .	Māwutī . . . . .	Māwutī . . . . .
Bhāwtā . . . . .	Bhēkdā . . . . .	Rhākḷō . . . . .
Bānchī . . . . .	Bhanichī . . . . .	Rhākḷī . . . . .
Kōdmī . . . . .	Khadmī, or kājā . . . . .	Khādmī . . . . .
Kājji; hēṭṭī . . . . .	Kājī . . . . .	Ḍāmī . . . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bihi; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ē . . . . .	Wuh . . . . .
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Urōkō . . . . .	Nus-kā . . . . .
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Urōkō . . . . .	Nus-kā . . . . .
Bihi; wō; hirō; ūr . . .	Ō . . . . .	Wē . . . . .
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Unākō . . . . .	Nun-kā . . . . .
Birō-kō; urū-kē . . .	Unākō . . . . .	Nun-kā . . . . .
Kōhat . . . . .	Hattēto . . . . .	Hūt . . . . .
Guṛārā, gurārā . . .	Guṇḍāle . . . . .	Nāḍ . . . . .
Nak-hēli . . . . .	Nakōṭā . . . . .	Nakṭā . . . . .
Ṭakhni . . . . .	Khakēlē . . . . .	Ūkh . . . . .
Khōsar . . . . .	Mōṇḍā . . . . .	Khum . . . . .
Dat-hēlū . . . . .	Datēlē . . . . .	Khudāt . . . . .
Kan-hēlā . . . . .	Kanēlē . . . . .	Rān . . . . .
Bar-hēlā . . . . .	Bālē . . . . .	Khabāl . . . . .
Muṛ-hēlā . . . . .	Śirō . . . . .	Nēhas . . . . .
Jim-hēli . . . . .	Jibēli . . . . .	Khajib . . . . .
Piṭ-hēlō . . . . .	Pēṭō . . . . .	Nēṭ . . . . .
Piṭhēli . . . . .	Piṭēli . . . . .	Niṭh . . . . .
Lohēlō . . . . .	Lhawō . . . . .	Khalōyā . . . . .
Rōnō . . . . .	Sunnō . . . . .	Bōnā . . . . .
Rāḍi . . . . .	Chāṇḍi . . . . .	Khanāḍi . . . . .
Bap-hēlō . . . . .	Bāpō . . . . .	Khabāp; nāp . . . . .
Mahtārī . . . . .	Māiyyā . . . . .	Khamā . . . . .
Chibhāi . . . . .	Bhai . . . . .	Bhaotā . . . . .
Rabin . . . . .	Bhayan . . . . .	Chhōn . . . . .
Najañ; khādmī . . .	Kājarō . . . . .	Kūdmī . . . . .
Najai . . . . .	Kājari . . . . .	Khēr . . . . .

Qasāi.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Une . . . . .	Tō . . . . .	26. He.
Us-kā . . . . .	Tinū . . . . .	27. Of him.
Us-kā . . . . .	Tinū . . . . .	28. His.
Uno . . . . .	Tē . . . . .	29. They.
Un-kā . . . . .	Tinā . . . . .	30. Of them.
Un-kā . . . . .	Tinā . . . . .	31. Their.
Hatōtā . . . . .	Hatō . . . . .	32. Hand.
Guḍāle . . . . .	Pagō . . . . .	33. Foot.
Phēkani . . . . .	Nākōḍū . . . . .	34. Nose.
Akōnyā . . . . .	Kāngī . . . . .	35. Eye.
Mū . . . . .	Mhōḍū . . . . .	36. Mouth.
Chabīne . . . . .	Dātō . . . . .	37. Tooth.
Kannōtyā . . . . .	Kānōḍā . . . . .	38. Ear.
Bālā . . . . .	Bālo . . . . .	39. Hair.
Śir . . . . .	Mātū . . . . .	40. Head.
Minjāli . . . . .	Jib . . . . .	41. Tongue.
Khilāi . . . . .	Dhōtriyo . . . . .	42. Belly.
Piṭ . . . . .	Piṭōḍā . . . . .	43. Back.
Lawhā . . . . .	Lhōḍū . . . . .	44. Iron.
Sūnā . . . . .	Khōnū . . . . .	45. Gold.
Khurā . . . . .	Chāndi . . . . .	46. Silver.
Bābā . . . . .	Yabō . . . . .	47. Father.
Āmmā . . . . .	Yāyi . . . . .	48. Mother.
Tuwānā-bhai (elder), subak-bhai (younger).	Bhāyi . . . . .	49. Brother.
Bū (elder), bhān (younger) . . . . .	Bhēn . . . . .	50. Sister.
Subūkḍā . . . . .	Manekh . . . . .	51. Man.
Subūkadi . . . . .	Bāykō . . . . .	52. Woman.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
53. Wife . . . .	Waū . . . .	Rann . . . .	Bārmī . . . .
54. Child . . . .	Chhōyrā . . . .	Mūṇḍā, mūṇḍi . . . .	Bōrā, bōri . . . .
55. Son . . . .	Pūt . . . .	Pūt . . . .	Bōrō . . . .
56. Daughter . . . .	Dhū . . . .	Dhī . . . .	Bōri . . . .
57. Slave . . . .	Gōlām . . . .	Ghulām . . . .	Ghulām . . . .
58. Cultivator . . . .	Khērū . . . .	Kajjā . . . .	Khētā . . . .
59. Shepherd . . . .	Bharuār . . . .	Ājri, ajārī . . . .	Ājri, ajārī . . . .
60. God . . . .	Bhagwān . . . .	Khudā . . . .	Rudāh . . . .
61. Devil . . . .	Ḍait . . . .	Shaitān . . . .	Shaitān . . . .
62. Sun . . . .	Sūraj . . . .	Sūraj . . . .	Nūraj . . . .
63. Moon . . . .	Chandar . . . .	Chann . . . .	Chann . . . .
64. Star . . . .	Tārā . . . .	Tārā . . . .	Tārā . . . .
65. Fire . . . .	Ṭāḍhā . . . .	Āgg . . . .	Pīngī, kógg . . . .
66. Water . . . .	Pāni . . . .	Pāni . . . .	Chai . . . .
67. House . . . .	Ghar . . . .	Ghar . . . .	Khaulā . . . .
68. Horse . . . .	Gōrā . . . .	Ghōrā . . . .	Kūdrā . . . .
69. Cow . . . .	Gāy . . . .	Gā . . . .	Lālsi . . . .
70. Dog . . . .	Kutā . . . .	Kūtā . . . .	Bhūkāl . . . .
71. Cat . . . .	Minā . . . .	Baliā . . . .	Koniā, dhēbrā . . . .
72. Cock . . . .	Kukrā . . . .	Kūkar . . . .	Kūkar . . . .
73. Duck . . . .	Badak . . . .	Batak . . . .	Batak . . . .
74. Ass . . . .	Gārō . . . .	Khōtā . . . .	Gauṇā . . . .
75. Camel . . . .	Ūth . . . .	Ūth . . . .	Ṭhūb . . . .
76. Bird . . . .	Pakhi . . . .	(Little) Chiriyā, painchhi . . . .	Niriyā . . . .
77. Go . . . .	Jā . . . .	Jānā . . . .	Jasrā . . . .
78. Eat . . . .	Khā . . . .	Khānā . . . .	Dūṭnā . . . .
79. Sit . . . .	Pēs . . . .	Baisnā . . . .	Ṭhāuknā . . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍi.	Myānwālē.
Bhatānī . . . .	Naṭhyā . . . .	Bair . . . .
Kajētā . . . .	Lāwdē . . . .	Gelpē . . . .
Chhōrā . . . .	Lāwdō . . . .	Gelpō . . . .
Chhōri . . . .	Lāwdi . . . .	Gelpi . . . .
Lōṇḍā . . . .	Ḍhikmō . . . .	Nāngadī . . . .
Nēhatkari . . . .	Rēt . . . .	Ḍhunabi . . . .
Bannagar . . . .	Dhanēṭyā . . . .	Dhangar . . . .
Nēw . . . .	Dēmā . . . .	Khidēw . . . .
Chhut . . . .	Bhutmā . . . .	Nhōt . . . .
Nhuriyā . . . .	Suriyā . . . .	Nhuriyā . . . .
Nān . . . .	Chandīchi . . . .	Chānd . . . .
Nārā . . . .	Tāraĩ . . . .	Tārō . . . .
Kōgga . . . .	<u>Dzhūlaṅgi</u> . . . .	Kichi . . . .
Chēni . . . .	Nirmā . . . .	Chāyī . . . .
Khaggā . . . .	Nānd . . . .	Khōk . . . .
Rhōḍā . . . .	Ghōrō . . . .	Ghōḍchō . . . .
Rāy . . . .	Kāwsō . . . .	Gāyi . . . .
Ḍhōkkal . . . .	<u>Dzhaglā</u> . . . .	Jukēlā . . . .
Kuḍki . . . .	Jilāṭi . . . .	Nilayī . . . .
Kukḍā . . . .	Paklā . . . .	Chhurgā . . . .
Nadak . . . .	Badak . . . .	Nadak . . . .
Rāddhu . . . .	Khārsā . . . .	Napērā . . . .
Khōt . . . .	Huṇṭ . . . .	Khūṭ . . . .
Nanāwar . . . .	Chidī . . . .	Chāglā . . . .
Jāssa . . . .	<u>Dzhāyil</u> . . . .	Hitwād . . . .
Dutta . . . .	Bēt . . . .	Dutwād . . . .
Bēs . . . .	Ṭhig . . . .	Ṭswād . . . .

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Nati (State Rampur).
Mehrārū . . .	Jō . . .	Chhū . . .
.....	Bachchā . . .	Khabālak . . .
Chūbkō . . .	Baidō . . .	Bōrā . . .
Chūbki . . .	Baidi . . .	Bōri . . .
Gulamhēlō . . .	Pālakdō . . .	Gulām . . .
Khit-hēlō . . .	Rait . . .	Rasān . . .
Dharariā . . .	Dhangar . . .	Raṇdariyā . . .
Rām . . .	Mahābūb . . .	Nanmēswar . . .
Bhut-hēlō . . .	Saitāne . . .	Khabhūt . . .
Suraj-hēlō . . .	Surūj . . .	Nūraj . . .
Chand-hēlō . . .	Chānd . . .	Khanād . . .
Tar-hēlā . . .	Tārō . . .	Khatārā . . .
Jhurāi . . .	Angārō . . .	Ōg . . .
Nimāni . . .	Niwāni . . .	Chhai . . .
Rib . . .	Nandō . . .	Lōhallā . . .
Ghurārō . . .	Ghōḍō . . .	Rōharchā . . .
Nāḍli . . .	Gāyō . . .	Tiyārgi rāē . . .
Jhūkil . . .	Kuttō . . .	Jhumkar . . .
Bilaiā . . .	Billi . . .	Khablāi . . .
Murgā . . .	Muragā . . .	Khamurg . . .
Radak . . .	Batkē . . .	Tiyārgi nadak . . .
Gādhā . . .	Gaddō . . .	Rōhā . . .
Uṭ-hēlō . . .	Hūt . . .	Hūt . . .
Chiraiā . . .	Parinde . . .	Narand . . .
Jaogh . . .	Nikhar . . .	Jāsūrō . . .
Dāt . . .	Thūr . . .	Dōti lēō . . .
Raith . . .	Chait . . .	Thōki jāō . . .

Qasāī.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Jōrñ . . . . .	Ranban . . . . .	53. Wife.
Bachchā . . . . .	Pōṭṭū . . . . .	54. Child.
Kachēlā . . . . .	Dikarō . . . . .	55. Son.
Kachēli . . . . .	Dikari . . . . .	56. Daughter.
Hājibadā . . . . .	Lōkṭō . . . . .	57. Slave.
Rait . . . . .	Rhait . . . . .	58. Cultivator.
Dhangar . . . . .	Dhangar . . . . .	59. Shepherd.
Allā . . . . .	Dēwtō . . . . .	60. God.
Śaitān . . . . .	Bhutaḍū . . . . .	61. Devil.
Surīj . . . . .	Din . . . . .	62. Sun.
Chānd . . . . .	Chānd . . . . .	63. Moon.
Tārā . . . . .	Chāndī . . . . .	64. Star.
Angār . . . . .	Āg . . . . .	65. Fire.
Nirgā . . . . .	Pāni . . . . .	66. Water.
Nann . . . . .	Khōl . . . . .	67. House.
Ghōḍā . . . . .	Chhimnō . . . . .	68. Horse.
Bhakkar . . . . .	Gāyḍi . . . . .	69. Cow.
Kuttā . . . . .	Kutrō . . . . .	70. Dog.
Billi . . . . .	Billāḍi . . . . .	71. Cat.
Muragā . . . . .	Kukḍō . . . . .	72. Cock.
Badak muragi . . . . .	Badak . . . . .	73. Duck.
Gadaḍā . . . . .	Gadaḍū . . . . .	74. Ass.
Hūṭ . . . . .	Hūṭ . . . . .	75. Camel.
Parindā . . . . .	Pākhrā . . . . .	76. Bird.
Khū . . . . .	Jākan . . . . .	77. Go.
Śūḍ . . . . .	Dut . . . . .	78. Eat.
Baṭwāḍ . . . . .	Baḥhal . . . . .	79. Sit.



English.	Ôḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
80. Come . . .	Āw . . .	Auṇā . . .	Asrṇā . . .
81. Beat . . .	Mār . . .	Mārṇā . . .	Lōṇā . . .
82. Stand . . .	Ūbh . . .	Khloṇā . . .	Khloṇā; khaḷā or raḷā hōṇā
83. Die . . .	Mar . . .	Marnā . . .	Lugṇā . . .
84. Give . . .	Ḍē . . .	Ḍēṇā . . .	Ḍēṇā . . .
85. Run . . .	Dhōṛ . . .	Nasṇā, dauṇā . . .	Bīṇṇā . . .
86. Up . . .	Māthē . . .	Ufarā . . .	Khūpar . . .
87. Near . . .	Paṛkhē-mā . . .	Nērē . . .	Ḍhanērē . . .
88. Down . . .	Nichē . . .	Talā . . .	Talā . . .
89. Far . . .	Parē . . .	Dūr . . .	Khadūr . . .
90. Before . . .	Mōrē . . .	Aggē . . .	Kuggē . . .
91. Behind . . .	Wāsē . . .	Pichhē . . .	Nichhē . . .
92. Who . . .	Kōṇ . . .	Kaṇ . . .	Kaṇ . . .
93. What . . .	Kāy . . .	Kyā . . .	Kyā . . .
94. Why . . .	Kulāy . . .	Kyū . . .	Kyū . . .
95. And . . .	Anē . . .	Tē . . .	Tē . . .
96. But . . .	Paṇ . . .	Par . . .	Par . . .
97. If . . .	Jō . . .	Jēkar, jē . . .	Jēkar jē . . .
98. Yes . . .	Hā . . .	Āhō . . .	Ānē . . .
99. No . . .	Nā . . .	Nā . . .	Na . . .
100. Alas . . .	Arē . . .	Hāē . . .	Hāē . . .
101. A father . . .	Bā . . .	Bāpp . . .	Bāptā . . .
102. Of a father . . .	Bā-chā . . .	Bāppā-gā (-gē, -gī, -giā) . . .	Bāptē-gā . . .
103. To a father . . .	Bā-nē . . .	Bāppā-gū . . .	Bāptē-gū . . .
104. From a father . . .	Bā-tī . . .	Bāppā-thō . . .	Bāptē-thō . . .
105. Two fathers . . .	Ḍōn bā . . .	Ḍō bāpp . . .	Dhōr bāptē . . .
106. Fathers . . .	Bā . . .	Bāpp . . .	Bāptē . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Nyākūā . . . .	Hāyil . . . .	Barwād . . . .
Thāy . . . .	Lugā . . . .	Lōt . . . .
Ubā rahō . . . .	Khūṭ-kō khub-rā . . . .	Khub-rōk . . . .
Luki jā . . . .	Lug . . . .	Lugiṭ . . . .
Dēppa . . . .	Walā . . . .	Khichwād . . . .
Nhas . . . .	Nimal . . . .	Chigawād . . . .
Uprē . . . .	Khūpar . . . .	Khūpar . . . .
Najik . . . .	Kan . . . .	Khurō . . . .
Tanhē . . . .	Tan . . . .	Talkē . . . .
Dur . . . .	Dār . . . .	Dūg . . . .
Sāmē . . . .	Khagāḍi . . . .	Khagāḍi . . . .
Pichchhē . . . .	Dzichāḍi . . . .	Ripchē . . . .
Kōṇ ; yō . . . .	Kōn . . . .	Kuṇ . . . .
Kyā . . . .	Kē . . . .	Kā . . . .
Kyō . . . .	Kaikē . . . .	Kāykū . . . .
An . . . .	Haur . . . .	Ōr . . . .
Par ; narantu . . . .	Lēkin . . . .	Lēkin . . . .
Jab . . . .	Tō . . . .	Tō . . . .
Hāw . . . .	Hōy . . . .	Hā . . . .
Nāhāpi . . . .	Hapenā . . . .	Naĩ . . . .
Arērē . . . .	Arē . . . .	Ayyō . . . .
Bāptā . . . .	Ek-mū bhāwutō . . . .	Khēk māwutō . . . .
Bāptē-kā . . . .	Ek-mū bhāwutē-kō . . . .	Khēk māwutē-kō . . . .
Bāptē-ku . . . .	Ek-mū bhāwutē-kū . . . .	Khēk māwutē-kū . . . .
Bāppā-ṭhō-sī . . . .	Ek-mū bhāwutē-sī . . . .	Khēk māwutē-sī . . . .
Dhōr bāptē . . . .	Dul-mū bhāwutē . . . .	Dōg māwutē . . . .
Bāpō . . . .	Bhāwutē . . . .	Māwutē . . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī? (Belgaum).	Natī (State Rampur).
Aogh . . . .	Awar . . . .	Āsurō . . . .
Lugai . . . .	Kuṭwār . . . .	Lōthō . . . .
Thaṛkō hō . . . .	Khūt . . . .	Rarōpi . . . .
Lugaj . . . .	Margō . . . .	Lōgi jāō . . . .
Tiūr . . . .	Kidō . . . .	Dēpi dē . . . .
Daurū . . . .	Nhaṭwārō . . . .	Khadōṛō . . . .
Khūpar . . . .	Khūpar . . . .	Khūpar . . . .
Nagich-hēlē . . . .	Pās . . . .	Hadōrē . . . .
Tar-hēli . . . .	Jimini . . . .	Khatar . . . .
Dur-hēli . . . .	Dūr . . . .	Khadōr . . . .
Rāmnē . . . .	Sambōr . . . .	Kūgē . . . .
Richhē . . . .	Pichwād . . . .	Nichhē . . . .
Kaon . . . .	Kōn . . . .	Rōn . . . .
Kā . . . .	Kā . . . .	Ryā . . . .
Kith-kō . . . .	Kai . . . .	Nō . . . .
Baur . . . .	Aur . . . .	Kōr . . . .
Mul . . . .	Phirtu . . . .	.....
.....	Tō . . . .	.....
Hā . . . .	Hō . . . .	Nā . . . .
Nāh . . . .	Nā . . . .	Mahī . . . .
.....	Āy . . . .	Nahōs . . . .
Bap-hēlē . . . .	Ekkan bāpō . . . .	Bēk khabāp . . . .
Bap-hēlā-kā . . . .	Ekkan bāpō-kā . . . .	Bēk khabāp-rā . . . .
Bap-hēlā-kū . . . .	Ekkan bāpō-ku . . . .	Bēk khabāp-rō . . . .
Bap-hēlā-sē . . . .	Ekkan bāpō-se . . . .	Bēk khabāp-rē . . . .
Dubēlī bap-hēlā . . . .	Jauḍ bāpāū . . . .	Dhōr khabāp . . . .
Bap-hēlā . . . .	Bāpāū . . . .	Chhūt khabāp . . . .

Qasāl.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Awar . . . . .	Ākhtal . . . . .	80. Come.
Ghād . . . . .	Nikār . . . . .	81. Beat.
Uṭwāḍ . . . . .	Khubōthār . . . . .	82. Stand.
Bigar . . . . .	Nikar . . . . .	83. Die.
Kid . . . . .	Gār . . . . .	84. Give.
Nhāt . . . . .	Nikaṭ . . . . .	85. Run.
Uppar . . . . .	Khuppar . . . . .	86. Up.
Najik . . . . .	Kan . . . . .	87. Near.
Talle . . . . .	Khēṭo . . . . .	88. Down.
Dūr . . . . .	Dūr . . . . .	89. Far.
Sāmmē . . . . .	Khāmō . . . . .	90. Before.
Pichchē . . . . .	Pāchō . . . . .	91. Behind.
Koṇ . . . . .	Kun . . . . .	92. Who.
Kyā . . . . .	Sū . . . . .	93. What.
Kī . . . . .	Sakarwā . . . . .	94. Why.
Bhī . . . . .	Sūksi . . . . .	95. And.
Lēkin . . . . .	Pan . . . . .	96. But.
To . . . . .	Tō . . . . .	97. If.
Hoya . . . . .	Hō . . . . .	98. Yes.
Naĩ . . . . .	Naĩ . . . . .	99. No.
Ayyō . . . . .	Ayyāyyō . . . . .	100. Alas.
Ekkan bābā . . . . .	Ēk yabō . . . . .	101. A father.
Ekkan bābā-kā . . . . .	Ēk yabā-nō . . . . .	102. Of a father.
Ekkan bābā-kū . . . . .	Ēk yabā-nō . . . . .	103. To a father.
Ekkan bābā-se . . . . .	Ēk yabā-tō . . . . .	104. From a father.
Jauḍ bābā . . . . .	Bē yabā . . . . .	105. Two fathers.
Bābā . . . . .	Yabā . . . . .	106. Fathers.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
107. Of fathers . . .	Bāwā-chā . . .	Bappē-gā . . .	Bāptē-gā . . .
108. To fathers . . .	Bāwā-nē . . .	Bappē-gū . . .	Bāptē-gū . . .
109. From fathers . . .	Bāwā-ti . . .	Bappē-thō . . .	Bāptē-thō . . .
110. A daughter . . .	Dhū . . .	Dhi . . .	Bōri . . .
111. Of a daughter . . .	Dhū-chā ; dhūi-chā, etc. . .	Dhiā-gā . . .	Bōriā-gā . . .
112. To a daughter . . .	Dhū-nē . . .	Dhiā-gū . . .	Bōriā-gū . . .
113. From a daughter . . .	Dhū-ti . . .	Dhiā-thō . . .	Bōriā-thō . . .
114. Two daughters . . .	Ḍon dhuā . . .	Dō dhiā . . .	Dhōr bōriā . . .
115. Daughters . . .	Dhuā . . .	Dhiā . . .	Bōriā . . .
116. Of daughters . . .	Dhuā-chā . . .	Dhiē-gā . . .	Bōriē-gā . . .
117. To daughters . . .	Dhuā-nē . . .	Dhiē-gū . . .	Bōriē-gū . . .
118. From daughters . . .	Dhuā-ti . . .	Dhiē-thō . . .	Bōriē-thō . . .
119. A good man . . .	Sārā mānas . . .	Chāngā (or nēk) ādmī (or banda).	Chēnguā kōdmī . . .
120. Of a good man . . .	Sārē mānsā-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-gā (or bandē-gā).	Chēnguē kōdmīā-gā . . .
121. To a good man . . .	Sārē mānsā-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-gū . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīā-gū . . .
122. From a good man . . .	Sārē mānsā-ti . . .	Chāngē ādmīā-thō . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīā-thō . . .
123. Two good men . . .	Ḍon sārē mānsē . . .	Dō chāngē ādmī . . .	Dhōr chēnguē kōdmī . . .
124. Good men . . .	Sārē mānsē . . .	Chāngē ādmī (or bandē) . . .	Chēnguē kōdmī . . .
125. Of good men . . .	Sārē mānsā-chā . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-gā . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīē-gā . . .
126. To good men . . .	Sārē mānsā-nē . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-gū . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīē-gū . . .
127. From good men . . .	Sārē mānsā-ti . . .	Chāngē ādmīē-thō . . .	Chēnguē kōdmīē-thō . . .
128. A good woman . . .	Sārī bāyri . . .	Chāngī janāni . . .	Chēngui bārmī . . .
129. A bad boy . . .	Nikām chhōyri . . .	Bhaiṛā mūṇḍā . . .	Nhaiṛā (or nharāb) bōrā . . .
130. Good women . . .	Sārīā bāyriā . . .	Chāngīā janāniā . . .	Chēnguiā bārmīā . . .
131. A bad girl . . .	Nikām chhōyri . . .	Bhaiṛī mūṇḍī . . .	Nhaiṛī (or nharāb) bōri . . .
132. Good . . .	Sārā . . .	Chāngā . . .	Chēnguā . . .
133. Better . . .	Wadhārē sārā . . .	[Is thō or is satthā] chāngā . . .	[Bis thō or bis satthā] chēnguā . . .

Kōlhāṭī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Bāptē-kā . . .	Bhāwutē-kō . . .	Māwutē-kō . . .
Bāptē-ṭhō . . .	Bhāwutē-kū . . .	Māwutē-kū . . .
Bāptē-ṭhō-sī . . .	Bhāwutē-sī . . .	Māwutē-sī . . .
Chhōrī . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī . . .	Khēk gelpī . . .
Chhōrī-kā . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī-kō . . .	Khēk gelpī-kō . . .
Chhōrī-ku . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī-kū . . .	Khēk gelpī-kū . . .
Chhōrī-ṭhō-sī . . .	Ek-mū lāwḍī-sē . . .	Khēk gelpī-sē . . .
Dhōr chhōriyā . . .	Dul-mū lāwḍī . . .	Dōg gelpī . . .
Chhōriyā . . .	Lāwḍī . . .	Gelpī <sup>2</sup> . . .
Chhōriyā-kā . . .	Lāwḍī-kō . . .	Gelpī-kō . . .
Chhōriyā-ku . . .	Lāwḍī-kū . . .	Gelpī-kū . . .
Chhōriyā-ṭhō-sī . . .	Lāwḍī-sē . . .	Gelpī-sē . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmī . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmī . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmī . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-kā . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmī-kō . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmī-kō . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-ku . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmī-kū . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmī-kū . . .
Kōchchhā kōdmīyā-ṭhō-sī . . .	Ek-mū chisam khadmī-sē . . .	Khēk khāchō khādmī-sē . . .
Dhōr bhalē kōdmī . . .	Dul-mū chisam khadmī . . .	Dōg khāchō khādmī . . .
Bhalē kōdmī . . .	Chisam khadmī . . .	Khāchō khādmī . . .
Bhalē kōdmīyā-kā . . .	Chisam khadmī-kō . . .	Khāchō khādmī-kō . . .
Bhalē kōdmīyā-ku . . .	Chisam khadmī-kū . . .	Khāchō khādmī-kū . . .
Bhalē kōdmīyā-ṭhō-sī . . .	Chisam khadmī-sē . . .	Khāchō khādmī-sē . . .
Hēṭṭī kōsal . . .	Ek-mū chisam kājī . . .	Khēk nīrī ḍāmī . . .
Burā chhōrā . . .	Ek-mū bilēḍ lāwḍō . . .	Khēk sugāṇō gelō . . .
Kōsal hēṭṭiyā . . .	Chisam kājī . . .	Nīrī ḍāmī . . .
Burī kajēṭī . . .	Ek-mū bilēḍ lāwḍī . . .	Khēk sugāṇī gēlī . . .
Kōsal; achchhā . . .	Chisam . . .	Khāchō . . .
Achchhā . . .	Istī chisam . . .	Wā-sē-bī khāchō . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Bap-hēlā-kā . . .	Bāpaũ-kā . . .	Khabāpō-rā . . .
Bap-hēlā-kũ . . .	Bāpaũ-ku . . .	Khabāpō-rō . . .
Bap-hēlā-sē . . .	Bāpaũ-se . . .	Khabāpō-rē . . .
Chūbki . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi . . .	Bēk bōri . . .
Chūbki-kā . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-kā . . .	Bēk bōri-rā . . .
Chūbki-kũ . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-ku . . .	Bēk bōri-rō . . .
Chūbki-sē . . .	Ekkaṇ baiḍi-se . . .	Bēk bōri-rē . . .
Dubēlū chūbki . . .	Jauḍ baiḍē . . .	Dhōr bōriyā . . .
Chūbki . . .	Baiḍē . . .	Chhūt bōriyā . . .
Chūbki-kā . . .	Baiḍē-kā . . .	Bōriyō-rā . . .
Chūbki-kũ . . .	Baiḍē-ku . . .	Bōriyō-rō . . .
Chūbki-sē . . .	Baiḍē-se . . .	Bōriyō-rē . . .
Khachchhō najaũ . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najaũ-kā . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-kā . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rā . . .
Khachchhō najaũ-kũ . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-ku . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rō . . .
Khachchhō najaũ-sē . . .	Ekkaṇ nīrō kājarō-se . . .	Bēk kuchchhā kūdmī-rē . . .
Dubēlū khachchhō najaũ . . .	Jauḍō nīrō kājarā . . .	Dhōr kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najaũ . . .	Nīrō kājarā . . .	Chhūt kuchchhā kūdmī . . .
Khachchhō najaũ-kā . . .	Nīrō kājarā-kā . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmīyō-rā . . .
Khachchhō najaũ-kũ . . .	Nīrō kājarā-ku . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmīyō-rō . . .
Khachchhō najaũ-sē . . .	Nīrō kājarā-se . . .	Kuchchhā kūdmīyō-rē . . .
Khachchhi najai . . .	Ekkaṇ nīri kājari . . .	Bēk kuchchhā khēr . . .
Ḍharāb chūbko . . .	Ekkaṇ kargāl baiḍō . . .	Bēk rarāb bōrā . . .
Khachchhi najai . . .	Nīri kājarē . . .	Kuchchhā khēriyā . . .
Ḍharāb chūbki . . .	Ekkaṇ kargāl baiḍi . . .	Bēk rarāb bōri . . .
Khachchl . . .	Nīrō . . .	Kuchchhā . . .
.....	U-s-dē nīrō . . .	Chhūt kuchchhā . . .

Qa-sī.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Bābā-kā . . . . .	Yabā-nō . . . . .	107. Of fathers.
Bābā-kū . . . . .	Yabā-nē . . . . .	108. To fathers.
Bābā-se . . . . .	Yabā-tō . . . . .	109. From fathers.
Ekkaṇ kachēli . . . . .	Ēk dikarī . . . . .	110. A daughter.
Ekkaṇ kachēli-kā . . . . .	Ēk dikarī-nō . . . . .	111. Of a daughter.
Ekkaṇ kachēli-kū . . . . .	Ēk dikarī-nē . . . . .	112. To a daughter.
Ekkaṇ kachēli-se . . . . .	Ēk dikarī-tō . . . . .	113. From a daughter.
Jaṇḍ kachēlyā . . . . .	Bē dikarīyā . . . . .	114. Two daughters.
Kachēlyā . . . . .	Dikarīyā . . . . .	115. Daughters.
Kachēlyā-kā . . . . .	Dikarīyā-nō . . . . .	116. Of daughters.
Kachēlyā-kū . . . . .	Dikarīyā-nē . . . . .	117. To daughters.
Kachēlyā-se . . . . .	Dikarīyā-tō . . . . .	118. From daughters.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā . . . . .	Ēk chōkū manekh . . . . .	119. A good man.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-kā . . . . .	Ēk chōkū manekh-nō . . . . .	120. Of a good man.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-kū . . . . .	Ēk chōkū manekh-nē . . . . .	121. To a good man.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdā-se . . . . .	Ēk chōkū manekh-tō . . . . .	122. From a good man.
Jaṇḍo śēbit subūkdē . . . . .	Bē chōkā mankhō . . . . .	123. Two good men.
Śēbit subūkdē . . . . .	Chōkā mankhō . . . . .	124. Good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kā . . . . .	Chōkā mankhō-nō . . . . .	125. Of good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-kū . . . . .	Chōkā mankhō-nē . . . . .	126. To good men.
Śēbit subūkdē-se . . . . .	Chōkā mankhō-tō . . . . .	127. From good men.
Ekkaṇ śēbit subūkdī . . . . .	Ēk chōkī lāykō . . . . .	128. A good woman.
Ekkaṇ hajīb chhōrā or chhanakā . . . . .	Ēk khattar chhōknō . . . . .	129. A bad boy.
Śēbit subūkdīyā . . . . .	Chōkiyō bākdīyō . . . . .	130. Good women.
Ekkaṇ hajīb chhōrī or chhanakī . . . . .	Ēk khattar chhōknī . . . . .	131. A bad girl.
Śēbit . . . . .	Chōkō . . . . .	132. Good.
Istī śēbit . . . . .	Istī chōkō . . . . .	133. Better.



English.	Ôđki (Catch).	Sĩsi (Ordinary).	Sĩsi (Criminal).
134. Best . . .	Badhã-ti sārā . . .	[Sabhnẽ satthã] chaṅgā . . .	[Sabhnẽ satthã] chēṅguā . . .
135. High . . .	Ūchā . . .	Uchchā . . .	Khuchchā . . .
136. Higher . . .	Wadhārẽ ūchā . . .	[Is thõ] uchchā . . .	[Bis thõ] khuchchā . . .
137. Highest . . .	Badhã-thi ūchā . . .	[Sabhnẽ satthã] uchchā . . .	[Sabhnẽ satthã] khuchchā . . .
138. A horse . . .	Gōrā, (hisnā) . . .	Ghōrā . . .	Kūdrā . . .
139. A mare . . .	Gōrī, (hisnī) . . .	Ghōrī . . .	Kūdri . . .
140. Horses . . .	Gōrẽ . . .	Ghōrẽ . . .	Kūdrẽ . . .
141. Mares . . .	Gōriā . . .	Ghōriā . . .	Kūdrĩā . . .
142. A bull . . .	Godhā, dhagā . . .	Dhaggā . . .	Kāṅgal . . .
143. A cow . . .	Gāy . . .	Gā . . .	Lālsi . . .
144. Bulls . . .	Godhẽ, dhagẽ . . .	Dhaggẽ . . .	Kāṅgal . . .
145. Cows . . .	Gāiā . . .	Gāĩ . . .	Lālsiā . . .
146. A dog . . .	Kutā . . .	Kūtā . . .	Bhūkal . . .
147. A bitch . . .	Kuti . . .	Kutti . . .	Bhūkli . . .
148. Dogs . . .	Kutẽ . . .	Kūtẽ . . .	Bhūkal . . .
149. Bitches . . .	Kutiā . . .	Kuttiā . . .	Bhūkliā . . .
150. A he goat . . .	Bakrā . . .	Bakrā . . .	Chhābrā . . .
151. A female goat . . .	Bakrī . . .	Bakrī . . .	Chhābrī . . .
152. Goats . . .	Bakrẽ . . .	Bakrẽ . . .	Chhābrẽ . . .
153. A male deer . . .	Hẽn . . .	Harn . . .	Harn . . .
154. A female deer . . .	Hẽnī . . .	Harnī . . .	Harnī . . .
155. Deer . . .	Hẽn . . .	Harn . . .	Harn . . .
156. I am . . .	Hẽ sẽ . . .	Haũ haĩ . . .	Haũ hõpẽ . . .
157. Thou art . . .	Tũ si . . .	Taũ haĩ . . .	Taũ hõpẽ . . .
158. He is . . .	Sũ sũ . . .	Uh hai . . .	Buh hõpẽ . . .
159. We are . . .	Amĩ sũ . . .	Ham hã . . .	Ham hõpẽ . . .
160. You are . . .	Tamĩ sawā . . .	Tam hõ . . .	Tam hõpẽ . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Achchhā . . .	Dabi chisam . . .	Nabaḷē-sī khāchō . .
Khuchchā . . .	Khuchchō . . .	Khunchō . . .
.....	Istī khuchchō . . .	Wā-sē-bī khunchō . .
.....	Dabi khuchchō . . .	Nabaḷē-sī khunchō . .
Rhōḍā . . .	Ek-mū ghōṛṭō . . .	Khēk ghōḍchō . . .
Rhōḍī . . .	Ek-mū ghōṛṭī . . .	Khēk ghōḍchī . . .
Rhōḍē . . .	Ghōṛṭē . . .	Ghōḍchē . . .
Rhōḍiyā . . .	Ghōṛṭī . . .	Ghōḍchī . . .
Bēl . . .	Ek-mū kāwsō . . .	Khēk nēl . . .
Rāy . . .	Ek-mū kāwsi . . .	Khēk gāyī . . .
Bēl . . .	Kāwsō . . .	Nēl . . .
Rāyī . . .	Kāwsi . . .	Gāyī . . .
Ḍhōkkal . . .	Ek-mū <u>ḍ</u> huglā . . .	Khēk jukēlā . . .
Rutti . . .	Ek-mū <u>ḍ</u> hugli . . .	Khēk jukēli . . .
Ḍhōkkal . . .	<u>D</u> zhuglā . . .	Jukēlē . . .
Ruttiyā . . .	<u>D</u> zhugli . . .	Jukēli . . .
Nōkkaḍ . . .	Ek-mū rēmṇā . . .	Khēk nōkaḍā . . .
Nōkkaḍī . . .	Ek-mū rēmni . . .	Khēk ruchalī . . .
Nōkkaḍ . . .	Rēmṇā . . .	Nōkaḍē . . .
Raṭṭ ; khōran . . .	Nar harṭī . . .	Khēk ḍhālviṭ kharan . .
Khōranī . . .	Māḍī harṭī . . .	Khēk nāḍī kharan . . .
Khōran . . .	Harṭī . . .	Kharan . . .
Hū hē . . .	Mī hapelī . . .	Mē hū . . .
Tū hē . . .	Tū hapelā . . .	Tū hū . . .
Ō hē . . .	Wō hapelā . . .	Ū hū . . .
Ham hē . . .	Ham hapelū . . .	Hamē hū . . .
Tam hē . . .	Tum hapelā . . .	Tumē hū . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Byādik nīrō . . .	Rab-rē kuchchhā . .
Khūchō . . .	Khuñchō . . .	Khōchā . . .
.....	Us-dē khuñchō . .	Chhūt khōchā . .
.....	Byādik khuñchō . .	Rab-rē khōchā . .
Ghurārō . . .	Ekkaṇ ghōḍō . . .	Bēk ruhaṛchā . . .
Ghurārī . . .	Ekkaṇ ghōḍī . . .	Bēk ruhaṛchī . . .
Rahut ghurārō . .	Ghōḍā . . .	Ruhaṛchē . . .
Rahut ghurārī . .	Ghōḍē . . .	Ruhaṛchiyā . . .
Sāṛ-hēlō . . .	Ekkaṇ pādō . . .	Bēk lōd . . .
Nāḍlī . . .	Ekkaṇ gāyō . . .	Bēk tiyārgī rāō . .
.....	Pādā . . .	Nāḍ . . .
.....	Gāyē . . .	Tiyārgī rāō . . .
Jhūkil . . .	Ekkaṇ kuttō . . .	Bēk chhumkar . . .
Jhūkīlī . . .	Ekkaṇ kuttī . . .	Bēk chhumkarī . . .
.....	Kuttā . . .	Chhūt chhumkar . .
.....	Kuttē . . .	Chhūt chhumkariyā . .
Rakrā . . .	Ekkaṇ bakarō . . .	Bēk chakrā . . .
Rakrī . . .	Ekkaṇ bakarī . . .	Bēk chakrī . . .
Rakrā . . .	Bakarā . . .	Chakriyā . . .
Khirin . . .	Ekkaṇ harn . . .	Kharan . . .
Khirnī . . .	Ekkaṇ harnī . . .	Kharnī . . .
Khirin . . .	Harnē . . .	Chhūt kharan . . .
Maī hughū . . .	Maī hō . . .	Khō rō . . .
Taī hughē . . .	Yō hō . . .	Khanū hōchē . . .
Wō haughē . . .	Ē hō . . .	Woh hōchē . . .
Ham haugbē ; maī hughū .	Hamē hō . . .	Kham hōchē . . .
Taī hughē . . .	Tumē hō . . .	Nam hōchē . . .

Qasāl.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Sab-se śēbīt . . . . .	Ghanō chōkō . . . . .	134. Best.
Unchā . . . . .	Uchchō . . . . .	135. High.
Istī unchā . . . . .	Istī uchchō . . . . .	136. Higher.
Sab-se unchā . . . . .	Ghanō uchchō . . . . .	137. Highest.
Ekkaṇ ghōḍā . . . . .	Ēk chhimnō . . . . .	138. A horse.
Ekkaṇ ghōḍī . . . . .	Ēk chhimnī . . . . .	139. A mare.
Ghōḍē . . . . .	Chhimnā . . . . .	140. Horses.
Ghōḍyā . . . . .	Chhimnīyō . . . . .	141. Mares.
Ekkaṇ pādā . . . . .	Ēk pādō . . . . .	142. A bull.
Ekkaṇ bhakkar . . . . .	Ēk gāyḍī . . . . .	143. A cow.
Pādē . . . . .	Pādā . . . . .	144. Bulls.
Bhakkarā . . . . .	Gāyḍiyō . . . . .	145. Cows.
Ekkaṇ kuttā . . . . .	Ēk kutrō . . . . .	146. A dog.
Ekkaṇ kuttī . . . . .	Ēk kutrī . . . . .	147. A bitch.
Kuttē . . . . .	Kutrā . . . . .	148. Dogs.
Kuttyā . . . . .	Kutriyō . . . . .	149. Bitches.
Ekkaṇ bakarā . . . . .	Ēk bakrō . . . . .	150. A he goat.
Ekkaṇ chhēli . . . . .	Ēk bakrī . . . . .	151. A female goat.
Bakarē . . . . .	Bakrā . . . . .	152. Goats.
Ekkaṇ nar haraṇ . . . . .	Ēk harṇō . . . . .	153. A male deer.
Ekkaṇ mādi haraṇ . . . . .	Ēk harṇī . . . . .	154. A female deer.
Haraṇā . . . . .	Harṇā . . . . .	155. Deer.
Maĩ <u>thā</u> rtaũ . . . . .	Mī chhē . . . . .	156. I am.
Tū <u>thā</u> rtaũ . . . . .	Tū chhē . . . . .	157. Thou art.
Une <u>thā</u> rtaũ . . . . .	Tō chhē . . . . .	158. He is.
Ham <u>thā</u> rte . . . . .	Ham chhē . . . . .	159. We are.
Tume <u>thā</u> rte . . . . .	Tum chhē . . . . .	160. You are.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
161. They are . . .	Sū sī . . .	Uh haĩ . . .	Buh hōpē . . .
162. I was . . .	Hē silā . . .	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)	Haũ thiyyā (or siyyā, etc.)
163. Thou wast . . .	Tũ silā . . .	Taũ thiyyā . . .	Taũ thiyyā . . .
164. He was . . .	Sū silā . . .	Uh thiyyā . . .	Buh thiyyā . . .
165. We were . . .	Amĩ silē . . .	Ham thiyyē . . .	Ham thiyyē . . .
166. You were . . .	Tamĩ silē . . .	Tam thiyyē . . .	Tam thiyyē . . .
167. They were . . .	Sū silē . . .	Uh thiyyē . . .	Buh thiyyē . . .
168. Be . . .	Hō . . .	Hō ( <i>sing.</i> ), hōwō ( <i>plur.</i> )	Hōp, hōpō . . .
169. To be . . .	Hōpē . . .	Hōnā . . .	Hōpnā . . .
170. Being . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
171. Having been . . .	Hōtinē . . .	Hōikē . . .	Hōpi kē . . .
172. I may be . . .	Hē hawē . . .	Haũ hōwē . . .	Haũ hōpē . . .
173. I shall be . . .	Hē havī: hē havīnē . . .	Haũ hōngrā . . .	Hōpnāgrā . . .
174. I should be . . .	Mach̄ halē khapē . . .	Haũ hōtā . . .	Hōptā . . .
175. Beat . . .	Mār . . .	Mār, mārō . . .	Lō, lōō . . .
176. To beat . . .	Māynē . . .	Māpnā . . .	Lōnā . . .
177. Beating . . .	Mārtī . . .	Mārtā . . .	Lōtā . . .
178. Having beaten . . .	Mārtinē . . .	Mārikē . . .	Lōikē . . .
179. I beat . . .	Hē mārtē sē . . .	Haũ mārtā haĩ . . .	Haũ lōtā hōpē . . .
180. Thou beatest . . .	Tũ mārtī sī . . .	Taũ mārtā haĩ . . .	Taũ lōtā hōpē . . .
181. He beats . . .	Sū mārtī sē . . .	Uh mārtā haĩ . . .	Buh lōtā hōpē . . .
182. We beat . . .	Amĩ mārtē sū . . .	Ham mārtē hā . . .	Ham lōtē hōpē . . .
183. You beat . . .	Tamĩ mārtā sawā . . .	Tam mārtē hō . . .	Tam lōtē hōpē . . .
184. They beat . . .	Sū mārtī sī . . .	Uh mārtē haĩ . . .	Buh lōtē hōpē . . .
185. I beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ) . . .	Mē mārlā . . .	Maĩ māriā . . .	Maĩ lōyā . . .
186. Thou beatest ( <i>Past Tense</i> ) . . .	Tē mārlā . . .	Taĩ māriā . . .	Taĩ lōyā . . .
187. He beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ) . . .	Tōrē mārlā . . .	Uy māriā . . .	Buy lōyā . . .

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Vē hē . . . .	Yē hapelā . . . .	Vē hū . . . .
Hū thiyā . . . .	Mī chhō . . . .	Mē hī . . . .
Tū thiyā . . . .	Tū chhō . . . .	Tū hī . . . .
Ō thiyā . . . .	Wō chhō . . . .	Ū hī . . . .
Ham thiyē . . . .	Ham chhō . . . .	Hamē hī . . . .
Tam thiyē . . . .	Tum chhō . . . .	Tumē hī . . . .
Vē thiyē . . . .	Yē chhō . . . .	Vē hī . . . .
Hō . . . .	Rhapel . . . .	Rhē . . . .
Hōnā . . . .	Rhapel-nē-kō . . . .	Rhēṇēkū . . . .
Hōtā . . . .	Rhapel-tō . . . .	Rhētā . . . .
Huwā hē . . . .	Rhapelēsō . . . .	Rhōkē . . . .
Hū hōnā . . . .	Mī rhapeluṅgā . . . .	Mē rhauṅgā . . . .
Hū hōṅḡdā . . . .	Mī rhapeluṅgō . . . .	Mē rhanṅō . . . .
Hū hōnā . . . .	Mī rhapeluṅgōch . . . .	Mē rhēṇēkū hōṇū . . . .
Mār . . . .	Lugā . . . .	Lōt . . . .
Mārēnā . . . .	Lugaukū . . . .	Lōṇēkū . . . .
Mārtā . . . .	Lugātē . . . .	Lōttē . . . .
Māryā hē . . . .	Lugākō . . . .	Lōt-kē . . . .
Hū mārtā . . . .	Mī lugaū . . . .	Mē lōtū . . . .
Tū mārtā . . . .	Tū lugaū . . . .	Tū lōtū . . . .
Ō mārtā . . . .	Wō lugaū . . . .	Ū lōtū . . . .
Ham mārtē . . . .	Ham lugaū . . . .	Hamē lōtū . . . .
Tam mārtē . . . .	Tum lugaū . . . .	Tumē lōtū . . . .
Vē mārtē . . . .	Yē lugaū . . . .	Vē lōtū . . . .
Mē-nē māryā . . . .	Mī lugāyō . . . .	Mē lōtō . . . .
Tē-nē maryā . . . .	Tū lugāyō . . . .	Tū lōtō . . . .
Un-nē māryā . . . .	Wō lugāyō . . . .	Ū lōtō . . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
Wō haughē . . .	Ō hē . . .	Wē hōchē . . .
Maĩ hūḍō . . .	Maĩ handō . . .	Khō nō . . .
Taĩ hūḍō . . .	Yō handō . . .	Khanũ hōchā . . .
Wō hūḍō . . .	Ē handō . . .	Woh hōchā . . .
.....	Hamē handā . . .	Kham nē . . .
.....	Tumē handā . . .	Num nē . . .
... ..	Ō handā . . .	Wē nē . . .
.....	Huyīngō . . .	Hō . . .
.....	Hōwāku . . .	Hōpnā . . .
.....	Hōndō . . .	Hōtē huē . . .
.....	Hōwar-kō . . .	Hōkar . . .
Maĩ hūghasō . . .	Maĩ hōwungō . . .	Hōgō ke khō rō . . .
Maĩ hūghasō . . .	Maĩ hōwungō . . .	Khō rōgā . . .
.....	Maĩ hōnōch . . .	Mij-kō hōpnā chāhiyē . . .
Lugai . . .	Kuṭwār . . .	Lōthō . . .
Lugaodirē . . .	Kuṭwārku . . .	Lōthnā . . .
Lugaōḍō . . .	Kuṭwārde . . .	Lōhtē huē . . .
Lugao-kē . . .	Kuṭwār-ko . . .	Lōth-kar . . .
Maĩ lugairō . . .	Maĩ kuṭwārō . . .	Khũ lōhtā rō . . .
Taĩ lugairō . . .	Yō kuṭwārō . . .	Tā lōhtā hai . . .
Wō lugairō . . .	Ē kuṭwārō . . .	Woh lōhtā hai . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭwārō . . .	Kham lōhtē hōchē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭwārō . . .	Num lōhtē hō . . .
.....	Ō kuṭwārō . . .	Wē lōhtē hōchē . . .
Maĩ lugaōḍō . . .	Maĩ kuṭrō . . .	Khũ-nē lōthā . . .
Taĩ lugaoghīs . . .	Yō kuṭrō . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
Wō lugaoghīs, lugais . . .	Ē kuṭrō . . .	Us nē lōthā . . .

Qasāi.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Uno <u>thā</u> rte . . . . .	Tē chhē . . . . .	161. They are.
Maĩ <u>thā</u> rtā-thā . . . . .	Mi hotō . . . . .	162. I was.
Tū <u>thā</u> rtā-thā . . . . .	Tū hotō . . . . .	163. Thou wast.
Une <u>thā</u> rtā-thā . . . . .	Tō hotō . . . . .	164. He was.
Ham <u>thā</u> rtā-the . . . . .	Ham hotō . . . . .	165. We were.
Tume <u>thā</u> rtā-the . . . . .	Tum hotō . . . . .	166. You were.
Uno <u>thā</u> rtā-the . . . . .	Tē batā . . . . .	167. They were.
<u>Thak</u> . . . . .	Thai . . . . .	168. Be.
<u>Thakē</u> kyā . . . . .	Thaiwānē . . . . .	169. To be.
<u>Thak</u> -tā . . . . .	Thaitōtō . . . . .	170. Being.
<u>Thakō</u> ko . . . . .	Thainē . . . . .	171. Having been.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> uṅgā . . . . .	Mi thauṅgā . . . . .	172. I may be.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> uṅgā . . . . .	Mi thauṅgō . . . . .	173. I shall be.
Maĩ <u>thak</u> -nā . . . . .	Mi thauch . . . . .	174. I should be.
Ghāḍ . . . . .	Nikār . . . . .	175. Beat.
Ghāḍ-ku . . . . .	Nikārwanē . . . . .	176. To beat.
Ghāḍ-tā . . . . .	Nikārtō . . . . .	177. Beating.
Ghāḍ-ko . . . . .	Nikārīnē . . . . .	178. Having beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍtaũ . . . . .	Mi nikārū . . . . .	179. I beat.
Tū ghāḍtaũ . . . . .	Tū nikār . . . . .	180. Thou beatest.
Une ghāḍtaũ . . . . .	Tō nikār . . . . .	181. He beats.
Ham ghāḍte . . . . .	Ham nikārū . . . . .	182. We beat.
Tume ghāḍte . . . . .	Tum nikār . . . . .	183. You beat.
Uno ghāḍte . . . . .	Tē nikār . . . . .	184. They beat.
Maĩ ghāḍyā . . . . .	Mi nikāryō . . . . .	185. I beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).
Tū ghāḍyā . . . . .	Tū nikāryō . . . . .	186. Thou beatest ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).
Une ghāḍyā . . . . .	Tō nikāryō . . . . .	187. He beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).



English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāśī (Ordinary).	Sāśī (Criminal).
188. We beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).	Amĩ mārīā . . .	Hamō mārīā . . .	Hamō lōyā . . .
189. You beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> )	Tamĩ mārīā . . .	Tamō mārīā . . .	Tamō lōyā . . .
190. They beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> )	Taĩyē mārīā . . .	Uṇĩ uṇō mārīā . . .	Buṇĩ uṇō lōyā . . .
191. I am beating . . .	Hē mārē sē . . .	Haũ piā mārīā haĩ, or haũ mārī rihā haĩ.	Haũ lōtā hōpē, haũ lōi rihā hōpē.
192. I was beating . . .	Hē mārē silā . . .	Haũ mārī thīyyā ( <i>or</i> siyyā)	Haũ lōtā thīyyā . . .
193. I had beaten . . .	Mē mārē silē . . .	Maĩ mārī thīyyā ( <i>or</i> siyyā)	Maĩ lōyā thīyyā . . .
194. I may beat . . .	Hē mārē . . .	Haũ mārē . . .	Haũ lōē . . .
195. I shall beat . . .	Hē mārī . . .	Haũ mārāgrā . . .	Haũ lōngrā . . .
196. Thou wilt beat . . .	Tũ mārī . . .	Taũ mārāgrā . . .	Taũ lōngrā . . .
197. He will beat . . .	Sũ mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrā . . .	Buh lōgrā . . .
198. We shall beat . . .	Amĩ mārũ . . .	Ham mārāgrē . . .	Ham lōngrē . . .
199. You will beat . . .	Tamĩ mārā . . .	Tam mārāgrē . . .	Tam lōgrē . . .
200. They will beat . . .	Sũ mārī . . .	Uh mārāgrē . . .	Buh lōngrē . . .
201. I should beat . . .	Māchē mārē khapē . . .	Haũ mārī . . .	Haũ lōtā . . .
202. I am beaten . . .	Hē mārīā sē . . .	Haũ mārīā jattā haĩ . . .	Haũ lōyā jasrtā hōpē . . .
203. I was beaten . . .	Hē mārīā silā . . .	Haũ mārīā jattā thīyyā ( <i>or</i> siyyā).	Haũ lōyā jasrtā thīyyā ( <i>or</i> siyyā).
204. I shall be beaten . . .	Hē mārēē . . .	Haũ mārīā jāngrā . . .	Haũ lōyā jasrāngrā . . .
205. I go . . .	Hē jāē sē . . .	Haũ jattā haĩ . . .	Haũ jasrtā hōpē . . .
206. Thou goest . . .	Tũ jāi sī . . .	Taũ jattā haĩ . . .	Taũ jasrtā hōpē . . .
207. He goes . . .	Sũ jāi sē . . .	Uh jattā haĩ . . .	Buh jasrtā hōpē . . .
208. We go . . .	Amĩ jāē sū . . .	Ham jattē hā . . .	Ham jasrtē hōpē . . .
209. You go . . .	Tamĩ jāwā sawā . . .	Tam jattē hō . . .	Tam jasrtē hōpē . . .
210. They go . . .	Sũ jāi sī . . .	Uh jattē haĩ . . .	Buh jasrtē hōpē . . .
211. I went . . .	Hē gēlā . . .	Haũ gayā ( <i>pronounced</i> gēā)	Haũ gangā ( <i>or</i> jasmā)
212. Thou wentest . . .	Tũ gēlā . . .	Taũ gayā . . .	Taũ gangā ( <i>or</i> jasmā)
213. He went . . .	Ō gēlā . . .	Uh gayā . . .	Buh gangā ( <i>or</i> jasmā)
214. We went . . .	Amĩ gēl . . .	Ham gay . . .	Ham gangē ( <i>or</i> jasmē)

Kōlhātī (Akola).	Gārōḍī.	Myānwālē.
Ham-nē māryā . . .	Ham lugāyō . . .	Hamē lōtō . . .
Tum-nē māryā . . .	Tum lugāyō . . .	Tumē lōtō . . .
Unh-nē māryā . . .	Yē lugāyō . . .	Vē lōtō . . .
Hũ mārta hē . . .	Mi lugātō hapelā . . .	Mē lōtā hũ . . .
Hũ mārta thiyā . . .	Mi lugātō chhō . . .	Mē lōtā hī . . .
Mē-nē māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugā chhō . . .	Mē lōtōtō . . .
Mē-nē mārñā . . .	Mi lugāwuñgā . . .	Mē lōtuñgā . . .
Hũ mārāng . . .	Mi lugāwuñgō . . .	Mē lōtuñgō . . .
Tu mārāng . . .	Tā lugāwuñgō . . .	Tū lōtuñgō . . .
Wō mārāng . . .	Wō lugāwuñgō . . .	Ū lōtuñgō . . .
Ham mārāng . . .	Ham lugāwuñgō . . .	Hamē lōtuñgō . . .
Tam mārāng . . .	Tum lugāwuñgō . . .	Tumē lōtuñgō . . .
Vē mārāng . . .	Yē lugāwuñgō . . .	Vē lōtuñgō . . .
Mē-nē mārñā . . .	Mi lugānūkūch . . .	Mē lōtṇēkū hōṇū . . .
Mu-ku māryā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-hapelā . . .	Mē lōt duti hũ . . .
Mu-ku māryā thiyā . . .	Mi lugād bētē-chhō . . .	Mē lōt duti hī . . .
Mu-ku mārāng . . .	Mi lugād bētuñgō . . .	Mē lōt dutuñgō . . .
Hũ jātā . . .	Mi dzhāyilā . . .	Mē hiṭā . . .
Tu jātā . . .	Tā dzhāyilā . . .	Tū hiṭā . . .
Ō jātā . . .	Wō dzhāyilā . . .	Ū hiṭā . . .
Ham jētē . . .	Ham dzhāyilū . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .
Tam jātē . . .	Tum dzhāyilā . . .	Tumē hiṭā . . .
Vē jātē . . .	Yē dzhāyilā . . .	Vē hiṭū . . .
Hũ gayā . . .	Mi ghayilyō . . .	Mē hiṭō . . .
Tu gayā . . .	Tā ghayilyō . . .	Tū hiṭō . . .
Ō gayā . . .	Wō ghayilyō . . .	Ū hiṭō . . .
Ham gayē . . .	Ham ghayilyō . . .	Hamē hiṭō . . .

Kanjarī (Sitapur).	Kanjarī (Belgaum).	Naṭī (State Rampur).
.....	Hamē kuṭrā . . .	Kham-nē lōthā . .
.....	Tumē kuṭrā . . .	Num-nē lōthā . . .
.....	Ō kuṭrā . . .	Unhō-nē lōthā . . .
Maĩ lugairō . . .	Maĩ kuḍḍū hē . . .	Khũ lōthā rō . . .
Maĩ lugaōḍō . . .	Maĩ kuḍḍē handō . . .	Khũ lōth rahā thā . .
Maĩ lugaighirō ; maĩ lugairō	Maĩ kuṭrōḍō . . .	Khũ-nē lōthā thā . .
.....	Maĩ kuṭuṅgō . . .	Hōgō ke khũ lōthō . .
Maĩ lugaosū ; maĩ lugao- ghasi.	Maĩ kuṭuṅgō . . .	Khũ lōthōgā . . .
Taĩ lugaoghasi . . .	Yō kuṭiṅgō . . .	Khanũ lōthērā . . .
Birō lugaoghasi . . .	Ē kuṭiṅgō . . .	Woh lōthērā . . .
.....	Hamē kuṭiṅgā . . .	Kham lōthērē . . .
.....	Tumē kuṭiṅgā . . .	Num lōthērē . . .
.....	Ō kuṭiṅgā . . .	Wē lōthērē . . .
Maĩ lugaoghasū . . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-wā-ku hōnū . .	Mujh-kō lōthnā chāhiyē .
Maĩ lūgairō gaoghirō . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-linō . . .	Khũ lōthā gayā rō . .
Maĩ lugairō gaoghirō thō .	Maĩ kuṭwār-gau . . .	Khũ lōthā gayā thā . .
Maĩ lugairo gaoghasū . .	Maĩ kuṭwār-lēwuṅgō . .	Khũ lōthā jāūgā . . .
Maĩ jaoghadō . . .	Maĩ nikharuṅgō . . .	Khũ jāsurtā . . .
Taĩ jaoghasi . . .	Yō nikharuṅgō . . .	Nū jāsurtā hai . . .
Wō jaoghasi . . .	Ē nikharuṅgō . . .	Woh jāsurtā hai . . .
.....	Hamē nikhardaĩ . . .	Kham jāsurtē hōchē . .
... .	Tumē nikhardaĩ . . .	Num jāsurtē hō . . .
.....	Ō nikhardaĩ . . .	Wē jāsurtē hōchē . . .
Maĩ jaoghirō . . .	Maĩ gawō . . .	Khũ gayā . . .
Taĩ jaoghirō . . .	Yō gawō . . .	Nū gayā . . .
Wō jaoghirō . . .	Ē gawō . . .	Woh gayā . . .
.....	Hamē gawā . . .	Kham gayō . . .

Qasāī.	Sikalgāri (Belgaum).	English.
Ham ghādyā . . . . .	Ham nikāryō . . . . .	188. We beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).
Tume ghādyā . . . . .	Tum nikāryō . . . . .	189. You beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).
Uno ghādyā . . . . .	Tē nikāryō . . . . .	190. They beat ( <i>Past Tense</i> ).
Maĩ ghāḍtā-bai . . . . .	Mī nikārtaũ . . . . .	191. I am beating.
Maĩ ghāḍtā-hattā . . . . .	Mī nikārtōtō . . . . .	192. I was beating.
Maĩ ghādyātā . . . . .	Mī nikāryōtō . . . . .	193. I had beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍeṅgā . . . . .	Mī nikāruṅgā . . . . .	194. I may beat.
Maĩ ghāḍuṅgā . . . . .	Mī nikāruṅgō . . . . .	195. I shall beat.
Tū ghāḍuṅgā . . . . .	Tū nikāruṅgō . . . . .	196. Thou wilt beat.
Une ghāḍuṅgā . . . . .	Tō nikāruṅgō . . . . .	197. He will beat.
Ham ghāḍuṅgā . . . . .	Ham nikāruṅgō . . . . .	198. We shall beat.
Tume ghāḍuṅgā . . . . .	Tum nikāruṅgō . . . . .	199. You will beat.
Uno ghāḍuṅgā . . . . .	Tē nikāruṅgō . . . . .	200. They will beat.
Maĩ ghāḍnā . . . . .	Mī nikārūch . . . . .	201. I should beat.
Maĩ ghāḍ khaũ . . . . .	Mī nikār-dutyō-chhē . . . . .	202. I am beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍ khāyā . . . . .	Mī nikār-dutyōtō . . . . .	203. I was beaten.
Maĩ ghāḍ khaungā . . . . .	Mī nikār-duttuṅgā . . . . .	204. I shall be beaten.
Maĩ khūwataũ . . . . .	Mī jākan . . . . .	205. I go.
Tū khūwataũ . . . . .	Tū jākan . . . . .	206. Thou goest.
Une khūwataũ . . . . .	Tō jākan . . . . .	207. He goes.
Ham khūwate . . . . .	Ham jākan . . . . .	208. We go.
Tume khūwate . . . . .	Tum jākan . . . . .	209. You go.
Uno khūwate . . . . .	Tē jākan . . . . .	210. They go.
Maĩ khūhuwā . . . . .	Mī gaknyō . . . . .	211. I went.
Tū khūhuwā . . . . .	Tū gaknyō . . . . .	212. Thou wentest.
Une khūhuwā . . . . .	Tō gaknyō . . . . .	213. He went.
Ham khūhuwā . . . . .	Ham gaknyō . . . . .	214. We went.

English.	Ōḍkī (Cutch).	Sāsi (Ordinary).	Sāsi (Criminal).
215. You went . . .	Tamĩ gēlē . . .	Tam gaē . . .	Tam gaugē (jasrē) . . .
216. They went . . .	Sū gēlē . . .	Uh gaē . . .	Buh gaugē (jasrē) . . .
217. Go . . .	Jā . . .	Jā, jāō . . .	Jasr, jasrō . . .
218. Going . . .	Jātā . . .	Jattā . . .	Jasrtā . . .
219. Gone . . .	Gēlā . . .	Gayā . . .	Gaugā, jasriā . . .
220. What is your name ?	Tam-chē nām kāy ?	Tuhārā nā kyā hai ?	Tuhārgā nāūthā kyā hōpē ?
221. How old is this horse ?	Hā gōrā kawṛāk sē ?	Is ghōrē-gī kyā 'umr hai ?	Bis kūdrē-gī kyā khumr hōpē ?
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?	Kashmīr aṭhē-ti kitrik chhētē sē ?	Ēthō Kashmīrā tāi kinni dūr hai ?	Bethō Nashmīrā tāi kitni khadūr hōpē ?
223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?	Tam-chē bā-chē gharā-mā kētrēk pūt si ?	Tuhārē bappā-gē gharā bich kitnē pūt hai ?	Tuhārgē bāptē-gē khaulē kitnē bōrē hōpē ?
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	Āj mē lāmbā path karlā sē	Ājj haū baṛi dūr ṭuriā .	Kōjj haū jaḍi khadūr nuriā.
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.	Māchē kākē-chā pūt tē-chē bāṇi-nē pēnlā sē.	Mērē kākē-gā pūt uskiā bāṇā sāth biāhiā hūā hai.	Mērgē kākē-gā bōrā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabāṇā nāth chhiāhiā hōpiā hōpē.
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	Gharā-mā dhōrē gōrē-chā kāthā sē.	Baggē ghōrē-gī kāthi gharā bich hai.	Dhabaggē kūdrē-gī nāthi khaulē bich hōpē.
227. Put the saddle upon his back.	Tē-chi puṭhā māthē kāthā māḍā.	Kāthi uskiā pitthā par bāhō	Nāthi buskiā nitthā khūpar ḍāwō.
228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.	Mē tē-chē pūtā-nē ghanē phatkē mārle sī.	Maĩ uskē pūtā-gū baṛē kōṭlē (baint or sōtē) mārē.	Maĩ buskē bōrē-gū jaḍē nōṭlē (nhōṭē) lōē.
229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.	Sū ḍūgrā māthē chōpē charāvē sē.	Uh pahārā-giā chōtiā uppar ḍaṅgar chugātā hai.	Buh nahārā-giā nōtiā khūpar khadāṅgar nugātā hōpē.
230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.	Sū ō jhārā nichē gōrē māthē bēslā sē.	Uh us rukkhā-gē tal ghōrē-gē uppar baiṭhā hai.	Buh bus khrukkā-gē tal kūdrē khūpar ṭhaūkiā hōpē.
231. His brother is taller than his sister.	Ē-chi bāṇi-kartā ē-chā bhāu ūchā sē.	Uskā bhāi uskiā bāṇā satthā lamniā hai.	Buskā bhautā buskiā (or khapniā) dhabāṇā natthā khalammā hōpē.
232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.	Ē-chi kimat adhi rūpiē sē .	Iskā mōll dhāi rupayyē hai	Biskā chimul nhāi baluē (or ruknā or lābē) hōpē.
233. My father lives in that small house	Māchā bā ō dhārē gharā-mā rē-sē.	Mērā bāpp usnikē gharā bich rahtā hai.	Mērgā bāptā bus khikē khaulē bich raugtā hōpē.
234. Give this rupee to him	Hā rūpiā tē-nē ḍēwā .	Uskō ēā rupayyā ḍē . . .	Buskō bēā ruknā (baluā, lābā) ḍēp.
235. Take those rupees from him	Ē rūpiē tē pāsē-thi ghōwā .	Uskē pāsā uh rupayyē lēi lē	Buskē nāsā buh ruknē lēpi lēp.
236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	Ē-nē khūb mārā anē rāḍhivē-ti bāḍhā	Uskō achēhhiā tarā mārō tē rassē sāthth baddhō.	Buskō chēngniā narā lōō tē khras-ē natth chhēdwō.
237. Draw water from the well.	Kowē-māy-ti pāni kādḥā .	Us khūā bichchā pāni kādḥō.	Bus nūā khabichchā chaī kēḍhwō.
238. Walk before me . . .	Mā agiā chāl . . .	Mērē aggē ṭurō . . .	Mērgē kuggē nurō . . .
239. Whose boy comes behind you ?	Tamā wāsē kē-chā pūt āwē sē ?	Tuhārō picchhē kiskā pūt āū hai ?	Tuhārgē nichhē kiskā bōrā asrtā hōpē ?
240. From whom did you buy that ?	Tamā hūw kē pāsē-ti vēchātī ghēlē ?	Tamō kis-thō uh mōlē liyā ?	Tamō kis-thō buh khamōlē lēpiā ?
241. From a shopkeeper of the village	Gāmā-chē kē hātāwārē pāsē-ti	Gāwā-gē ēkki ḍukonlārā pāsā.	Dhāmō-(or nādā)-gē bēkki kūtiā-wālō nāsā.

Kôlhâtî (Akola).	Gârôdî.	Myânwâlê.
Tam gayê . . . .	Tum ghayilyô . . . .	Tumê hitô . . . .
Vê gayê . . . .	Yê ghayilyô . . . .	Vê hitô . . . .
Jâ . . . .	<u>Dz</u> hâyil . . . .	Hitvâd . . . .
Chalyâ . . . .	<u>Dz</u> hâltê . . . .	Hittê . . . .
Gayâ . . . .	Ghailôsô . . . .	Hitôsô . . . .
Tērâ nâwchhâ kyâ hê ?	Têrô chyônô kē ?	Têrô nôkadô kâ ?
Is rhôdê-ki humbar rêtti hâchchê ?	Ê ghôrțê-kû kitmû bars ?	Hê ghôdchê-kû kitanê naras ?
Bêthê-sî Kâsmîr rêtti dūr hê ?	Îngâ-sî Kâsmîr kitmû dūr ?	Hyâ-sê Kâsmîr kitanê dūg ?
Têrê bāppâ-kê khôggê kêtê chhōrê hê ?	Têrê bhāwutê-kê nând-ma kitmû lāwdô ?	Têrô māvutê-kô khôk-mê kitanê gelpê ?
Āj bahôttâ durâ-sî phiri āyâ.	Mî āj bharkum bāt chal-kô hâyilyô.	Mê khāj chhôt dūg rāt nalê.
Mêrê kākê-kê chhōrê-kâ us-kê bāhānâ-sî bihā lagyâ.	Wôkê bhanichî mērô kākâ-kê lāwdê-kû walaili.	Wâkî rhākî mērô dhākâ-kû gelpô-kû khichwâdî.
Us khôggê-mê dhôthê rhôdê-kâ khôgir hê.	Wâ nând-ma khujlô ghôr-kâ khôgirtî rhapel.	Wâ khôk-mê dhôkô ghôdchô nhôgir hôbrô.
Us-kê nițî-par khôgir dhar.	Wôkê panêchî-pa khôgirtî ghalel.	Wâkî niț-kê khûpar nhôgir nakôd.
Us-kê chhōrê-ku hũ jôhôt pbatkê thâyê.	Mî wôkê lāwdê-kû bharkum lugâyô.	Mê wâkê gelpô-kû chhôt lôto.
Ô us nêkrê-par dhôr charâi rhîyâ.	Wô wâ tēkdî-pa kâwsê charâyillâ hê.	Ô nêkadî-kê khûpar ū nêl narâ rhôkê hôbrô.
Us nhâdâ-kê tanê rhôdê-par thôktâ hôchchê.	Wô wâ dzhâd-kê-tan ghôr-kâ-pa thigyâ hê.	Nhâd-kê talkê ū ghôdchô khûpar țos-rôkô.
Us-kâ bhâwtâ us-kê bahênâ-sî khuchchâ hê.	Wôkê bhanichî-sî ôkê bhêk-dâ khuchchô hapelâ.	Wâkê rhâklô wâkî rhâklî-sê khunchô hôbrô.
Bus-kâ mól kôdhâi țivhê hê.	Ôkî kimmat khadê gandilô	Wâkî dhimmat khadai dhôkiyâ.
Mêrâ bāptâ bus nanchhâ khôggê-mê rôkhtâ hôchchê.	Mêrô bhāwutô nhanchô nând-ma rhapelâ.	Mêrô māvutô wâ nhôkno khôk-mê rhôkê.
Yô țiwâ bus-kô deppô .	Ô-kû yê gandilâ walâ .	Wâ-kû yê dhôkiyâ khichwâd.
Bus-kê najikâ-sê nê țivhê lyêp.	Ê gandilê wôkan-sê lhâyil.	Wâ-pêsê yê dhôkiyâ chôngbêt.
Bus-ku rhup țây ân bus-ku nêkdîyâ-sî nâddhi lâ.	Ôkû chisam lugâ-kâ jawdî-sî chirwând.	Wâ-kû khâchô lôtkar jêkadî-sê chônd.
Ruyê-mê-sî chênî kadđ .	Thâdgî-mâ-sê nîrmâ ghaichmel.	Râwadî-mê-sê châyî têngbêt.
Mêrê nhâmê nal . . .	Mêrê khagâdî chal . . .	Mêrô khagâdî nalwâd .
Têrê nichehhê ris-kâ bôrâ âsartâ ?	Têrê dzhichâdî-sê kôn-kâ lāwdô hâyilâ ?	Têrô ripchê kun-kô gêlô barawâdê ?
Byê rițthô-sî môle lyêpyâ ?	Tû yê kôn-kan-sî mól lhai-lyô ?	Tû yê kun-pêsô đimal bêtô ?
Bus rhôdê-kê nukândârâ-thôsî.	Wâ nând-kê ek-mû rawâ-nyâ-kan-sî.	Wâ nhôdê-kâ nukânwâlê-pêsô.

Kanjari (Sitapur).	Kanjari (Belgaum).	Naṭi (State Rampur).
.. ...	Tumē gawā . . . .	Num gayē . . . .
.....	Ō gawā . . . .	Wē gayē . . . .
Jaogh . . . .	Nikhar . . . .	Jāō . . . .
Jaughadō . . . .	Nikhardō . . . .	Jāsurtē huē . . . .
Raūch gaughirō . . . .	Nikhar-gaugrī . . . .	Jāsurtā huā . . . .
Tērō kā nao-hēlō ? . . . .	Tērō nām kā ? . . . .	Numhārā kyā nām hai ? . . . .
Ih ghurāro kittō ruṭhō hai ?	Ē ghōḍō-ki kitti umar ? . . . .	Is ruhaṛchē-ki kyā khumar hai ?
Ihā-sē Kashmīr kitti durhēlō hūghē ?	Hyāndē Kāsmīr kitānē dūr hē ?	Ēthē-sē Kashmīr kitnī dūr hai ?
Tērē bap-hēlā-ki ribō-mā kai chūbkā hūghē ?	Tērō bāpō-ke nandō-mā kittā baiḍā hē ?	Numhārē khabāp-kē rōhallā-mē kitnē lōhrē hōchē ?
Maī āj dur-hēlō gaughirō . . . .	Maī āj bahut dūr rastō challō hē.	Hū āj chhūt khadōr chalā rō.
Mērō kākā-kā chūbkō burō-ki rahin bihāis.	Urū-ki bhayap mērō kākā-kē baiḍā-ku dinā-hē.	Mērē kākē-kā lōhrā us-ki chhēn-sē byāhā gayā.
Ribō-mā rapēd ghurārō-kā jin-hēli hai.	Ō nandō-mā ujalē ghōḍō-ki jina hē.	Rōhallā-mē us ruhaṛchē-kā gadlā hai.
Birō-ki piṭhēli-par jin-hēli ṭhikē.	Urō-ki piṭēli-po jina ḍalwār	Us-kē pēṭhā-par gaddā dharō.
Maī birō-kē chūbkā-kū rahut chabuk lugairō.	Maī urō-ki baiḍā-ku bahut ghaḍwāḍō-hē.	Mē us-kē lōhrē-kō chhūt lōthā.
Birō ruhārā-ki ruṭiā par gahēli charghadi.	Yō ṭēkō-po janāwarē charwārdō hē.	Woh pahārā-ki gōth par nōhē charā rahā hai.
Birō pērhēlā tar ghurārā par chhaiṭhō hai.	Ē dzhāḍō-ke jimini ghōḍō-kē khūpar chēṭrō-hē.	Woh us pēr-ki khatar bēk ruhaṛchī-par ṭhōkā hai.
Birō-kō chibhāi burā-ki rahinā-sē lambō hai.	Urō-kō bhāi urō-ki bhayap-dē khuñchī hē.	Us-kā bhaotā us-ki chhannī-sē chhūt khalambā hai.
Birō-kā dam-hēlā kharail goil hai.	Us-ki kimmat jawādnīs kailā.	Us-ki rimat khāi khambā hai.
Mērō bap-hēlō birō chhuṭārō ribō-mē hē.	Mērō bāpōne wō nunke nandō-mā rahēndō.	Mērā nāp us nanuhē rōhallā-mē rōhtā hai.
Jē goil birō tiūr . . . .	Yō kailā urō-ku kidō . . . .	Yah khambā us-kō dēpi dē
Wō goil birō-sē lē-lingh . . . .	Urō-ke pās-de wō kailā chauṅga-lē.	Woh khambā us-sē lēpi lō . . . .
Birō-kō khūb lugai baur jibērhēli-sē chaūdh.	Urō-ku nūrō ghaḍwāḍ-ko rasēli-de bandwār.	Usē khūb lōthō aur jōriyō-sē bādhē cō.
Dhuā-sē nimānī nikār . . . .	Bawaḍi-mā-de niwāpi khich-wār.	Rūi-sē chhai ṭēki lō . . . .
Mērō khāḡlō chalugh . . . .	Mērō sambōr chalwār . . . .	Mērō gōḡō chalō . . . .
Tērē nichhē kinō-kō chūbkō aughadō ?	Tērō pichwāḍ-de kirō-ko baiḍō awardō ?	Numhārē nichhē kis-kā bōhrā āsurtā hai ?
Kinō-sē taī mulah lē lūghirō ?	Yō kinō-ke pās-de kimatne linō ?	Num-nē woh nich kis-sē lēpi lī ?
Gaughēlā-kō bēk bāniō-sē . . . .	Ō khāḍō-ke ekkap ḍukān-wālā ke pās-de.	Nandwā-kō bēk bāniyā-re . . . .

Qasāī.	Sikalgārī (Belgaum).	English.
Tume khūhuwā . . . . .	Tum gaknyō . . . . .	215. You went.
Uno khūhuwā . . . . .	Tē gaknyō . . . . .	216. They went.
Khā . . . . .	Jākan . . . . .	217. Go.
Khūwatā . . . . .	Jākantā . . . . .	218. Going.
Khūwāsā . . . . .	Gaknal . . . . .	219. Gone.
Tērē nau kyā ? . . . . .	Tārū nām sū ? . . . . .	220. What is your name ?
Ē ghōḍē-ku kette sāl ? . . . . .	Yē chhimnā-nō kekhalā warakh ? . . . . .	221. How old is this horse ?
Hyāsi Kāsmīr kette dūr ? . . . . .	Hyā-tō Kāsmīr kekhalā dūr ? . . . . .	222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?
Tērā bābā-kā nann-me kettā kachēle ? . . . . .	Tārā yabā-nā khōl-mā kekhalā dikarā chhē ? . . . . .	223. How many sons are there in your father's house ?
Maī āj bahut dūr bāt chalwāḍku awaryā . . . . .	Mī āj ghanā dūr wāt chālyō . . . . .	224. I have walked a long way to-day.
Use bhāp mērā chichchē-kā kachēlā-ku kidyātai. . . . .	Tinī bhēp mārā kākā-nā dikarā-nē gāryōch . . . . .	225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister.
Ō nann-me ujale ghōḍē-ke khōgīr thag-tiye. . . . .	Tinā khōl-mā dhōḷō chhimnā-nō khōgīr chhē. . . . .	226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse.
Uskī piṭ-kū uppar khōgīr aḍal . . . . .	Tinā piṭōḍā-par khōgīr ghāgal . . . . .	227. Put the saddle upon his back.
Maī uskā kachēlā-ku bahut ghāḍyā-haū . . . . .	Mī tinā chhōknāne ghanṭōl nikāryō . . . . .	228. I have beaten his son with many stripes.
Une ō ḍōngar-ke uppar gōrpe charwāḍtā hai. . . . .	Tō ṭekadā-par dhōrō charwālāgyō . . . . .	229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.
Une ō ḍzhāḍ-ke talle ghōḍē-ke uppar baṭwāḍe. . . . .	Tō ḍzhāḍō khēṭō chhimnā-par bukhlyō . . . . .	230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree.
Uskā bhai uskā bhāp-se unchā thārtāū . . . . .	Tinī bhēp-tī tinō bhāyī uchchō chhē . . . . .	231. His brother is taller than his sister.
Uskī kimmat jawanis kailā . . . . .	Tinī kimmat khaḍī sabādā . . . . .	232. The price of that is two rupees and a half.
Mērā bābā ō subak nann-me thagtaū . . . . .	Mārō yabō tē nhānchōn khōl-mā rhakhan . . . . .	233. My father lives in that small house.
Uskū ē kailā kid . . . . .	Tinē yē sabādā gār . . . . .	234. Give this rupee to him.
Ō kaile uske pās-te māngālle . . . . .	Ti-kantā yē sabādā chigārīlē . . . . .	235. Take those rupees from him.
Use sēbit tarā-se ghāḍko rāsi-se bandāl . . . . .	Tinē ghanṭōl nikārī-nē doḍḍā-tō chhānd . . . . .	236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes.
Bāwāḍī-mē-si nīrgā khaīchāl . . . . .	Īr-mā-tū pānī kāgōṭ . . . . .	237. Draw water from the well.
Mērā sāmme chalwāḍ . . . . .	Mū khāmō chāgal . . . . .	238. Walk before me.
Tērā pichēsi kis-kā chhankā awartaū ? . . . . .	Tārā pāchō kinō chhōknō ākhtyō ? . . . . .	239. Whose boy comes behind you ?
Kis-ke pās-te tume ō maul-ku hiḍapyā ? . . . . .	Tū tē ki-kantō khikkātō-lēkhtyō ? . . . . .	240. From whom did you buy that ?
Khēḍē-kā ekkap-dukānwālā pāste . . . . .	Khēḍā-nā wāniyā-kantū . . . . .	241. From a shopkeeper of the village.









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